

The Nation in the World, and the World in the Nation

A Comparison of Historical Narratives of Egyptian, South
Korean, and Chinese Textbooks during the Early Cold
War: From a Global Perspective

Janice Jeong

4/23/2012

Department: History

Primary Adviser: Dr. Dominic Sachsenmaier

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Introduction

History writing has constituted a critical part of the nation-building process across the globe for the past century and a half. With the formation of nation-states around the world at different points in time during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, nationalist intellectuals endeavored to stress the essential, underlying uniqueness of the nation. By employing cultural, linguistic, or racial (or common ancestry) explanations, they emphasized the particular national characteristics that were formulated within the nation and passed down from generation to generation.¹ Nation-builders agreed on the necessity of having a narrative on the nation – “the longer and prouder the better.”² The official, master national historiography often served to legitimize the establishment of the contemporary nation-state, positing it as the successor of the continuous national past and the destined actor to realize the nation’s ideals. Mediums such as nationalized education system and national ceremonies disseminated and consolidated such images of the nation’s past.

At the same time, *transnational* mechanisms have always provided the basis for the common tradition of portraying the national past. Accentuating national distinctiveness required understanding the nation’s past, present and the future vis-à-vis “others.” Only by comparison with “others,” could “national uniqueness or peculiarity be brought into relief.”³ In other words, constructing national identity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries required writing history of the nation in relation to its surroundings. On a broader level, the project of building the nation involved interpreting and appropriating ideas transferred across national borders. Especially from the late nineteenth century onwards, philosophical, political, economic and educational

¹ John Breuilly, “Nationalism and the Making of National Pasts” in *Nations and their Histories*, ed. Susana Carvalho and Francois Gemme (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 9-10.

² Stefan Berger, “Introduction: Towards a Global History of National Historiographies” in *Writing the Nation*, ed. Stefan Berger (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

³ Lim Jie-Hyun, “Victimhood Nationalism and History Reconciliation in East Asia,” *History Compass* 8, no. 1 (2010): 1.

ideologies and models travelled across national and regional boundaries. Many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America arguably appropriated ideas and models observed in Europe in order to come to terms with the world order changing against their odds.⁴ Writing history based on national framework, therefore, received transnational influences on both structural and conceptual levels. Historical narratives thus produced, in turn, served a crucial role in formulating national identity.

Despite the transnational connections, much of history writing since the latter half of the nineteenth century has continued to revolve around nation-centered perspectives. This has held true across the globe, albeit with differences according to local contexts. First in Western Europe, history turned into a discipline that professional historians had to research through scientific reasoning at academic institutions, with an explicit focus on the nation-state.⁵ This reflected both consolidation of nation-states that accompanied establishment of state-sponsored academic institutions, and a heavy reliance on archival sources that made it difficult to go beyond the scope of the nation-state. With the expansion of European influence from the late nineteenth century, historical scholarship in the non-Western parts of the world underwent transformations as well. In heterogeneous ways, historical thought and writing in East Asia, the Islamic parts of the world, South East Asia, Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa witnessed major changes. This was especially so in the twentieth century, as intellectuals adapted the mode of narrating

⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (London, New York: Verso, 1983) Also Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993).

⁵ Peter Lambert, "The Professionalization and Institutionalization of History" in *Writing History: Theory and Practice* ed. Stefan Berger (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010). On a close relationship between history writing and nation-building projects in Western Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: *Writing National Histories: Western Europe Since 1800* ed. Stefan Berger (New York: Routledge, 1999). Also Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representations* 37, Special Issue: Imperial Fantasies and Postcolonial Histories, Winter (1992): 19. Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 4.

longstanding national past that followed linear progression of temporality, instead of focusing on dynastic changes or religious philosophies. Such nation-centered historical scholarship has strongly persisted to the present.

Yet in the recent years, historians have recognized the limited scope of national paradigm for narrating history and the significant global entanglements that shaped the historical narratives thus produced. Accordingly, historical studies that employ border-crossing comparative, transnational and trans-regional approach in studying the process of history writing in different parts of the world have witnessed a sharp increase during the past two decades.⁶ Daniel Woolf, for example, provides a comprehensive history of historical writings throughout the world in his 2004 article “Historiography” in the *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*.⁷ In 2011, Woolf published his extensive *A Global History of History*, comprehensively examining historiographical traditions around the globe from the earliest times to the present. Along the similar lines, George Iggers and Edward Wang’s *A Global History of Modern Historiography* focuses on thoughts and practices of history writing across the globe from the late eighteenth century to the present. It pays attention to the established practices of historical writing in the non-Western societies just prior to European imperial influence, and the subsequent interconnections between the two.⁸ These historians simultaneously represent an emerging cohort of scholars who aim to move away from Eurocentric notion of viewing history writing, as they investigate the various ways in which the societies that had maintained well-established

⁶ For an overview of historiography of global and transnational history: Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Global Perspectives on Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). See also Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History. Historians Create a Global Past* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914* (Malden: Blackwell Pub, 2004).

⁷ Daniel Woolf, “Historiography” in *New Dictionary of the History of Idea*, ed. Maryanne Horowitz (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 2005), vol.1, xxxv-1xxxviii

⁸ George Iggers and Edward Wang, *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2008). Daniel Woolf, *A Global History of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

historiographical traditions adjusted to new modes of historical thinking.⁹ Their works reflect recent diversification in historical studies.

In particular, an important subject that a growing number of historians have scrutinized from a transnational, global perspective is that of the Cold War. With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Cold War has become a subject of historical study. The opening up of archives that had largely been unavailable, in addition, has proved to be pivotal to presenting a more comprehensive portrayal of the Cold War history. Specifically, literatures that analyze socio-cultural and ideological aspects of the Cold War from a broader global perspective have abounded in the recent years.¹⁰ In his influential *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*, the preeminent Cold War historian John Lewis Gaddis stresses the necessity of recognizing the importance of ideology as a source of behavior, and of understanding the aspirations, beliefs and culture of people who lived through the Cold War.¹¹ In lines with this thought, spates of works that focus on the influence of culture, ideas and language across borders in the unfolding of the Cold War have emerged during the past years.¹² Furthermore, historians have expanded their scope of analysis to the world outside the boundaries of the “West.” Odd Arne Westad, for instance, has claimed that political, ideological and social developments in the “Third World” generated the most important influences in the

⁹ For a discussion on reevaluation and utilization of existing indigenous traditions in different non-Western regions for modernization of historical writing, refer to: Edward Wang, “Cross-Cultural Developments of Modern Historiography: Examples from East Asia, the Middle East, and India” in *The Many Faces of Clio: Cross-Cultural Approaches to Historiography* ed. Edward Wang and Franz L. Fillafer (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 187-209.

¹⁰ Patrick Major and Rana Mitter, “East is East and West is West? Towards a Comparative Socio-Cultural History of the Cold War” *Cold War History* 4, no. 1 (2003): 3.

¹¹ John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 286-290.

¹² For example, Reinhold Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994).

progression of the Cold War.¹³ All in all, Cold War historians have delved into social, cultural and ideological entanglements across national and regional boundaries.

This trend represents a fundamental and pivotal change from the conventional Cold War scholarship. Scholars of the Cold War have, only up until recently, predominantly concentrated on the two major superpowers from the viewpoint of political science, diplomacy and international relations. Within this bipolar approach, other states have mainly been interpreted as adjacent actors that mostly followed the course of the two superpowers' actions. Hence, political-military confrontations and the rivalry between the Eastern and Western blocks – respectively characterized by socio-economic systems of socialism and capitalism – have dominated topics of Cold War studies.¹⁴ Even as the international system and inter-state relations became a focus for these studies, the story of the Cold War has largely been told from the perspective of the narrating nation-state.

Yet, understanding the Cold War only through political and intra-national perspective presents a limited picture of history of the Cold War. Such portrayal neglects both its ideological, social aspects and the global connections that shaped these on a national level. As the Cold War becomes a historical subject of study, it is vital to comprehensively investigate it from a political, ideological and social point of view, from a global standpoint.

In consideration of the transformations in studies of historiography and the Cold War, the early years of the Cold War is a significant moment to compare historical narratives of nation-

¹³Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). See also Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Yangwen Zheng ed., *The Cold War in Asia: the Battle for Hearts and Minds* (Leiden, Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010).

¹⁴ Sari Autio-Sarasma, "A New Historiography of the Cold War?" *European History Quarterly* 41 no. 4 (2011): 658.

states that recently established new independent regimes after colonial experiences. Certainly, they faced the similar task of defining national identity and establishing discourses to confirm their legitimacy in the new international order. The end of the World War II and subsequent decolonization processes that spurred across Asia, Africa and Latin America marked a peak for the nation-building task. Independence movements and the idea of the nation, indeed, existed prior to the onset of the Cold War. Yet, in many instances, the early period of the Cold War marked the establishment of politically independent nation-states, solidification of national borders, and thus, the onset of projects to identify the appropriate political, economic, and ideological model for the nation by appropriating and redefining globally circulating concepts and models. In other words, it was a dynamic time when multiple nation-states that had previously belonged to the colonial orbit emerged as independent entities in an increasingly international world order and faced the imminent task of nation-building.

More importantly, the project of nation-building during the early years of the Cold War involved identifying transnational alliances and ideologies so as to solidify the nation-state. With the ideological partitioning of the world into democratic, capitalist and socialist, communist camps or “worlds” and “blocks,” the nation-states that had recently experienced decolonization had to identify geopolitical camps to cooperate with – which transcended national boundaries – while at the same time strengthening a sense of peculiar national unity and solidarity. The nation-states simultaneously endorsed concepts applicable on a transnational level – such as Marxism, socialism, Arab nationalism or democracy – as national political ideologies.

While they often selected a particular superpower to maintain cooperative relations, the nation-states that had formerly been in the colonial orbit also endeavored to form transnational alliances with the other “Third World” nation-states by emphasizing their common colonial or

imperial past and the acute need to overcome it. The non-alignment movement of the “Third World” nation-states during the 1950s and the subsequent Bandung Conference in 1955 provide an example of the efforts to create alliances by emphasizing shared history amongst the participating states. The Conference emphasized the idea of actively splitting away from their shared imperial and colonial past as a common ground for the participating states. All in all, the nation-states with a colonial past reacted to the new global order of the Cold War by formulating transnational cooperative relationships in one way or the other, while also struggling to consolidate a particular national identity.

In these contexts, defining a coherent historical narrative to convey to the members of the nation was a central part of the nation-building process. One of the significant ways to achieve this goal was to transmit a uniform historical narrative to the future citizens of the nation-state. In this regard, historians have pointed out the illuminating effect that textbook studies can provide in terms of understanding the state’s official historical narrative and its implications for the construction of national identity.¹⁵ Especially with regards to East Asia, a growing number of scholars are analyzing late-nineteenth century to contemporary textbooks to identify perceptions of the nation and the world contained in the historical narratives, as well as political and ideological influences on such.¹⁶ The attempts amongst nation-states in East Asia to formulate a common historical language beyond antagonisms also demonstrate the recent efforts to formulate

¹⁵ John Breuilly, “Nationalism and the Making of National Pasts”, 16. Also Berghahn and Schissler, *Perceptions of History: International Textbooks Research on Britain, Germany and the United States* (Leamington Spa & New York: Berg, 1987).

¹⁶ For a study on Chinese history textbooks in the People’s Republic of China: Dorothea Martin. *The Making of a Sino-Marxist Worldview: Perceptions and Interpretations of World History in the People’s Republic of China*. (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1990); Education and textbooks under the Qing Empire and the Republic of China: Tze-ki Hon and Robert Culp, *The Politics of Historical Production in Late Qing and Republican China* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007).

transnational historical narratives through textbooks.¹⁷ On the other hand, compared to historical studies on textbooks in East Asia, there is a relative lack of research on history textbooks of the Middle East. Nevertheless, representations of the nation, Islam, and the world as reflected in the textbooks of the Middle East have received much attention.¹⁸

A limitation of these literatures is that they have mainly focused on a case study based on national or regional boundaries. Concentrating on transnational connections within a single region legitimately assumes a greater historical, cultural and linguistic continuity in a specific geographical area. Yet, it does not take into account the apparent similarities and challenges across national boundaries that the nation-states with colonial experiences shared, despite their opposing ideological orientations. Nation-states' struggles to construct national identities based on varying transnational ideologies and alliances raise a set of questions. How similar or different were the historical narratives produced? Did the narratives reflect Eurocentric perspectives that have characterized much of history writing in the academia? How did they attempt to define the beginning of the nationhood and peculiar national characteristics? How did the narratives interpret colonial experiences in relation to the nationhood? Examining narratives of the history textbooks published by the nation-states in the decolonized parts of the world during the early period of the Cold War will reveal the ways in which they interpreted global ideologies and circumstances for the purpose of consolidating the nation. Focusing on nation-states that adhered to dissimilar geopolitical and ideological camps will further allow us to better

¹⁷ For the relationship between history textbooks and identity formation in East Asia: Gotelind Muller, *Designing History in East Asian Textbooks: Identity Politics and Transnational Aspirations* (Oxon, New York: Routledge, 2011). Also, Gi-Wook Shin and Daniel Sneider, *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia: Divided Memories* (London; New York: Routledge, 2011).

¹⁸ For a study on religious, history and civic textbooks currently use in the Middle East: Gregory Starrett, *Teaching Islam: Textbooks and Religion in the Middle East* (Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007). By the same author: *Putting Islam to Work: Education, Politics and Religious Transformation in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

understand the fraught global relationships generated in the post-war era among emerging states, relations that directed the production of nation-based historical narratives.

Therefore, among all nation-states, this thesis analyzes historical narratives of national and world history textbooks of Egypt, China and South Korea of the late 1950s from a global, comparative perspective. The People's Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and the Arab Republic of Egypt represent a part of the world that experienced a form of colonialism or imperialism, and subsequently witnessed establishment of new independent, nationalist regimes during the late 1940s and early 50s. All faced the similar task of solidifying nationalist discourses. At the same time, they exemplify adopters of three different ideological systems. The regimes of the three nation-states chose to adopt contrasting systems of thought as national ideologies. Specifically, the Chinese Communist Party of the PRC fully endorsed Soviet-based communism as the official ideology – which was to be implemented in all sectors of the society. The South Korean regime, in contrast, promoted democracy and capitalism under the influence of the United States, while naturally vehemently criticizing communism. Lastly, the Egyptian regime sought to propagate Arab nationalism and socialism that could be distinguished from the influence of both the United States and the Soviet Union. In short, the three nation-states aimed to achieve their nationalist purposes by appropriating globally circulating ideologies that diverged from one another – adapting and refashioning them through the media of pedagogical artifacts.

This political agenda permeated into the education sector, and also, the narratives of the history textbooks. Among all arenas, schools provided a central ground for cultivating future citizens of the nation imbued with specific views on the history of the nation, and the world. As the first chapter of the thesis will reveal, the states of Egypt, China and South Korea set new

objectives for schools that would enhance pupils' patriotism towards the nation and loyalty to the new ruling party. In this process, history education doubtlessly played a central role in shaping national identity. It essentially aimed to provide a common version of national history and worldview to pupils. History textbooks, in particular, were intended to "teach youth specific 'master narrative' as part of defining a nation's collective identity."¹⁹ The state's political objectives prescribed the contents and emphasis of history textbooks, while Ministries of Education and intellectuals were often prompted by political changes to eradicate or add selected content to the education curriculum and textbooks.

To undertake this important project, I compare three cases from a global, transnational historical perspective, at a synchronic point in time. In other words, I examine the versions of national and world history that the textbooks of three nation-states portrayed at a particular point in history. In doing so, I pay a careful attention to the general contextual and structural similarities that each nation-state shared on a global basis during this period pivotal for the nation-building project. At the same time, I examine the local specificities that both appropriated, and received the influence of, such global entanglements. The central theme guiding the thesis, thus, is the interplay between the world and the nation, both in propagation of nationalist political ideologies and production of historical narratives.

The following chapters compare and analyze the narratives of a total of five history textbooks from China, South Korea and Egypt between 1955 and 1960. For China, I examine the two part textbook titled "History" (*lishi*, 1960), which incorporated both national and world history and was used for third year middle school students. As for South Korea, I was able to

¹⁹ Gi-Wook Shin and Daniel Sneider, *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia: Divided Memories* (London; New York: Routledge, 2011), 7.

obtain copies of “National History” (*kuk-sa*, 1956) and “World History” (*sae-gye-sa*, 1956) that were used throughout the high school curriculum. Lastly, with regards to Egypt, I analyze the two textbooks “The History of Islam and Islamic Egypt” (*Tarikh al-Islam wa Misr al-Islamiya*, 1957) used for third year middle school students, and “The Origins of the Modern World” (*Usul al-3lm al-hadith*, 1957), which did not specify the grade level it was used for. In addition to this uncertainty, the binary education system in Egypt divided into religious and governmental institutions also poses a challenge in understanding the specific contexts in which the textbook was used. Nevertheless, these primary materials reflect the historical narratives that emerged as victors of political contests over which depiction of history would be the state-endorsed version and would be conveyed to the students. I strictly focus on examining the structure and contents of these texts as tools for constructing national identity, and the transnationality of such narratives. Thus, while I could not evaluate the effectiveness of these materials, I investigated the general contexts of educational changes in the three nation-states and penetration of political ideologies into productions of historical narratives during the first half of the twentieth century.²⁰

The first chapter therefore focuses on the global similarities that the three nation-states shared and their local particularities, specifically in terms of: configuration of transnational ideologies into national contexts, rapid expansion of the public education system, and permeation of political agenda into the production of historical narratives. It provides a background on the political and intellectual contexts from which the textbooks emerged, on both global and national levels. The second chapter then analyzes the textbooks’ portrayals of the history of the world, which posited Europe as the central reference point. It will highlight that within this shared Eurocentric worldview, the local nationalist positions decided the specifics of the textbooks’

outlooks on Europe. Finally, the third chapter examines the textbooks' careful construction of the national past and the future within the world. It investigates how the national historical narratives emphasized the longevity and distinctiveness of the history of the nation, what each national ideology identified as the essence of the nationhood, and the political logic behind such narratives of national "essence." In this chapter, the reader will discover that the construction of these national historical narratives involved narrating the nation vis-à-vis the "others" – the colonial or imperial forces. In this context, the nationalist political regimes in turn were necessarily positioned as the natural agents indispensable for realizing the desired future for the nation.

CHAPTER ONE

Permeation of Nationalist Ideologies into Public Education System and History Writing:
A Comparison of Egypt, China and South Korea from a Global Perspective

Introduction

During the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, the concept of the nation provided the basis for historiography across much of the globe.²¹ In many cases, not only did intellectuals use the notion of the nation as the basic framework for interpreting the past, but they also determined the contents of their works in order to define or propagate national identity and ideals.²² In other words, their interpretations of the past and present aimed at constructing a shared national past that stretched for an indefinite span of time, cultivating sentiments of national pride and loyalty, and promulgating the defining features of a distinctive national identity that unified constituents of the nation. At the same time, formulating a national historical narrative inevitably involved interpreting the world that surrounded the nation, as intellectuals had to situate the nation in a global context. It was thus necessary for them to include in their presentations of history the events occurring outside the nation that were thought to be pivotal to the overall historical progress of the world or to the formation of the nation itself. Writing history of the emerging nation therefore involved formulating the national past in relation to the world. In this process of writing history, the political state played a crucial role in not only defining the physical boundaries of the nation, but also in setting the political agenda and ideological orientations that determined the elements of national identity. Thus, writing the history of the

²¹ For a comprehensive study of nationalist historiography across the globe, mainly in non-Western areas, see George Iggers and Edward Wang, *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2008); refer also to Daniel Woolf, *A Global History of History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Eckhardt Fuchs and Benedikt Stuchtey, *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective* (Lanham: Rowan&Littlefield Publishers, 2002). For a reflection on using the nation as a concept for reading historical texts: Daniel Woolf, "Of Nations, Nationalism and National Identity" in *The Many Faces of Clío: Cross-Cultural Approaches to Historiography, Essays in Honor of George G. Iggers*, ed. Edward Wang and Franz Fillafer (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007).

²² See Chapter 1 of Dominic Sachsenmaier, "Movement and Patterns: Environments of Global Historiography, *Global Perspectives on Global History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

nation was in many significant respects a political process.²³

In third world countries especially, historiography's political task of constructing national pasts gained even greater urgency during the post-World-War-II period. As I mentioned in the introduction, the early period of the Cold War witnessed rapid decolonization processes in parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Many of the nation states that had been under either semi or complete colonial rule now established independent regimes. This process frequently involved revolutions and military coups. After their ascendancies to power, the revolutionary leaders of the third world viewed nationalist mobilization based on anti-foreign sentiments as the most successful revolutionary strategy.²⁴ Not surprisingly, historiography received the direct influence of such tendencies in the new global era.²⁵ Watchwords for political discussions – such as national pride and culture, revolutions, anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism, and anti-colonialism – also permeated and guided the production of historical narratives in the third world countries.

Following World War II, Egypt, China and Korea, like many other countries, witnessed radical political upheavals, which led to the establishment of new regimes which needed to legitimize their ascendancies to power. In 1952, the July Revolution headed by Gamal Abdel Nasser and other Free Officers overthrew the monarchy through a military coup and established the Arab Republic of Egypt. In 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) headed by Mao Zedong emerged as the victor of the Civil War with the Chinese Nationalist Party and founded the People's Republic of China. In 1948, three years after the end of Japanese colonial rule, Rhee Syng-man proclaimed the establishment of the Republic of Korea; 1953 in turn marked the end of the Korean War, which signified that Rhee's regime needed to consolidate its power in

²³ Stefan Berger et al, introduction to *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

²⁴ Arne Westard, "Rethinking Revolutions: The Cold War in the Third World," *Journal of Peace Research* 29, no.4 (1992): 457-8.

²⁵ See Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 of Woolf, *A Global History of History*.

opposition to North Korea and to reconstruct the war-stricken society. Thus the years 1952, 1949, 1948 and 1953 in the three countries marked significant political and ideological ruptures from the past. Consequently, writing the history of the nation required reinterpreting the past in order to legitimize the new regimes, each with new founding principles, while at the same time continuing to promote a sense of existing national pride and loyalty among Egyptian, Chinese, or South or North Korean nationals.²⁶

Although making a direct causal link between the contents of the history textbooks produced during this period and the overall political, academic and institutional background may be difficult, understanding such broader frameworks nevertheless is necessary for situating the textbooks in context. Therefore, the first part of this chapter discusses the political and nationalist nature of state-controlled schools where the textbooks were used. Because the three regimes of the 1950s expanded the already existing compulsory education systems as a part of the nation-building process, this first section will focus on the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when the establishment of modern primary and secondary education systems gained its momentum. In the second part, the chapter will stress the continuation and intensification of states' control over the education system and, also, over the production of historical narratives in the context of the regime changes in the 1950s. It will become evident that despite the geopolitical, social, cultural and ideological differences that characterized Egypt, China and South Korea in the early period of the Cold War, their states followed similar patterns in

²⁶ On the writing national histories in East Asia during in late nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Edward Wang, "Between Myth and History: the Construction of a National Past in Modern East Asia," in *Writing the Nation*. For a comprehensive overview of Chinese historiography in the first half of the twentieth century, see Edward Wang, *Inventing China through History: the May Fourth Approach to Historiography*, (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001). For a pivotal critique of China's adoption of a linear, evolutionary model of history during this period, see also Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). On the construction of national identity through history writing Egypt, see Youssef Choueiri, *Modern Arab Historiography :Historical Discourse and the Nation-State* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003) and Anthony Gorman, *Historians, State and Politics in Twentieth Century Egypt: Contesting the Nation* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

dictating their public education systems and arenas of historiography – the two fields that essentially decided the framework for producing textbooks.

Expansion of Mass Education System : Late-nineteenth to Mid-twentieth century

The practice of writing history and teaching it in an institutionalized education system, in many parts of the world, was a new phenomenon that resulted from wider global entanglements. With the institutionalization and professionalization of modern historiography across the globe, history became a subject that professional historians had to research and that had to be taught in educational institutions – including primary and secondary schools that were to provide general education for future citizens of the nation. Educational and pedagogical models also circulated across the globe. Examining the institutionalization of the education systems and the practice of history within them from a global perspective is outside the scope of this thesis.²⁷ Yet, it is necessary to recognize that Egypt, China and Korea were similar in following global patterns in endeavoring to transform their education systems from that of an older, traditional model to that of a state-controlled modern public system as a part of their modernization project.

Education reforms that aimed to establish modern-style schools in Egypt, China and Korea began mainly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. During this period, the Egyptian monarchy strived to build modern-style primary and secondary schools in place of religious, traditional *madrassas*. Likewise, Chinese regimes (the Qing Empire and Republic of China) endeavored to expand the public education system while curbing the influence of

²⁷ For the institutionalization and professionalization of history in Western Europe and the modernization of historiography in different parts of the world, see Stefan Berger, Kevin Passmore, and Heiko Keldner, *Writing History: Theory and Practice* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010); George Iggers and Edward Wang, *Turning Points in Historiography: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2002).

traditional *sishu* that focused on the memorization of classical Confucius texts.²⁸ Korea's traditional form of school, *sodang*, on the other hand, also gradually lost its influence under Japanese colonial rule. The following section discusses the specifics of the processes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, starting with Egypt.

Although the modern education system in Egypt is an issue that scholars have debated about – both during the period of reform and the present²⁹ – it is evident that the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Egypt was an innovative period that witnessed the establishment of a government-controlled, secular education system.³⁰ Egyptian education prior to the nineteenth century had been centered on the *kuttab* and *madrassa* systems based on *waqf* revenues, where students memorized passages of the Quran, learned religious principles and practiced reading and writing. Between 1810 and 1840, however, Muhammad Ali created a network of civil schools, following the “Napoleonic philosophy of administrative centralization.”³¹ The drive to establish a state educational system gained momentum under Isma’il half a century later, when the intellectuals recognized the shortcomings and shortages of primary and secondary schools. Finally, in the Constitution of 1923, the Egyptian government stated its commitment to providing universal and compulsory education.³² The number of students enrolled in the state

²⁸ Tze-ki Hon and Robert J. Culp, introduction to *The Politics of Historical Production in Late Qing and Republican China*, ed. Tze-ki Hon and Robert Culp (Boston: Brill, 2007).

²⁹ The debated points include British role in the development of Egyptian education, the contention between the *ulama* and supporters of secular, modern educational institutions, and the inclusion of religion in the public education curriculum; Timothy Mitchell, in *Colonizing Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), highlights the introduction of the modern school system in Egypt for the purpose of imposing orderliness on individual citizens. For a recent discussion on the British influence on the development of Egyptian education system: Mona Russell, “Competing, Overlapping, and Contradictory Agendas: Egyptian Education Under British Occupation, 1882-1922,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 21, no. 1 (2005): 50-60.

³⁰ At the same time, one should note that the public education system in Egypt even in the present is not entirely secular. For controversies about teaching Islam in a national education curriculum, see Bradley James Cook, “Egypt’s National Education Debate,” *Comparative Education* 36, no. 4 (2000): 477-490.

³¹ Abu Al-Futouh Ahmad Radwan, *Old and New Forces in Egyptian Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951), 89.

³² Indira Falk Gesink, “Islamic Reformation : A History of *Madrassa* Reform and Legal Change in Egypt,” *Comparative Education Review* 50, no. 3 (2006): 325-45.

educational system increased at an impressive rate from the 1920s to the 1940s:³³ By 1952, the Ministry of Education completed the unification of educational systems.³⁴

At the same time, the motif guiding the expansion of the public education system was not solely humanitarian.³⁵ One of the crucial aims of the primary and secondary schools was to raise a spirit of national identity in the students. An argument by Taha Huysan, one of the most influential intellectuals and educators of Egypt during the twentieth century, reveals this:

The purpose of elementary education in a democratic society...is to equip a student with the minimum of information necessary to enable him to know himself, his environment, and his country so that he may become a useful citizen.³⁶

Husayn ardently campaigned for a secular, national compulsory education system and outspokenly criticized religious educational institutions. His statement indicates that educators intended public schools to raise a particular type of national citizen according to the country's needs.

Egypt was not alone in undertaking government-led educational reforms at the dawn of the twentieth century. Around the same period, the Chinese education system also witnessed the reorganization of traditional schools and the creation and expansion of the state-administered public education system in efforts to enhance patriotic sentiments and loyalty towards the nation. As was the case in Egypt, reorganization of the state-sponsored education system started before the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. In 1903-04, the waning Qing Empire announced a comprehensive set of Regulations for Schools modeled on the Japanese education system. The Regulations endeavored to raise "patriotic, public spirited subjects, loyal

³³ Israel Gershoni, *Redefining the Egyptian Nation, 1930-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 12.

³⁴ Judith Cochran, *Educational Roots of Political Crisis in Egypt* (Langham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008), 64.

³⁵ Youssef M. Choueiri, *Arab Nationalism: State and Society in the Arab World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000). Choueiri explains that Arab nationalist thinker Sati' al-Husri (1879 – 1968) regarded universal education as one of the three factors that dominated modern social life. Moreover, Husri believed that teaching history requires selecting episodes to emphasize events that are "conducive to foster a sense of national awareness." Ibid., 120.

³⁶ Taha Husayn, *The Future of Culture in Egypt*, trans. Sidney Glazer (New York: Octagon Books, 1975), 93.

to the Emperor, honoring Confucian doctrine...”³⁷ The Qing authorities abolished the Civil Examination System and founded the Ministry of Education in 1905. Simultaneously, they attempted to reorganize the education system by introducing national school inspectors, publishing textbooks, and modernizing traditional schools, which had been privately owned.³⁸

Efforts to utilize the education system in order to enhance the state’s objectives and to build a sense of collective identity intensified during the Republic Era, after the fall of the Qing Empire in 1911. Especially with the rise of Chiang Kai-shek to power in 1925, the Nationalist Party of China sought to establish its central control over educational processes and the production of textbooks. In its Draft Constitution of 1925, the Nationalist Party announced that courses in party doctrine should be mandatory in schools. The national school system was established in 1927; by the 1920s roughly 6.8 million students were attending primary and secondary schools.³⁹ In addition, elementary and middle schools honored Sun Yat-sen, the first leader of KMT through courses and rituals.⁴⁰ During the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), the Nationalist government explicitly stressed the value of history education for inculcating in students common beliefs in order to strengthen the nation. In 1938 at the Extraordinary Congress, for example, the Minister of Education announced that teaching and writing history should contribute to the nation-building process and to countering Japanese propaganda.⁴¹ Therefore, the educational reforms undertaken during the Qing and Republic eras were a part of these two states’ efforts to reinforce patriotism and loyalty to the Empire, and later to the nation.

³⁷ John Cleverley, *The Schooling of China: Tradition and Modernity in Chinese Education* (Boston: G. Allen & Unwin, 1992), 38.

³⁸ Ibid., 39. For more discussions on history textbooks in the Qing era, see Tze-ki Hon and Robert J. Culp, *The Politics of Historical Production in Late Qing and Republic China*, Part One (The New School System and New Educated Elite).

³⁹ Hon and Culp, introduction to *The Politics of Historical Production*.

⁴⁰ Cleverley, *The Schooling of China*, 59-60.

⁴¹ Wai-keung Chan, “Contending Memories of the Nation: History Education in Wartime China, 1937-1945,” in *The Politics of Historical Production*, 169-175.

During the same period between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, China's adjacent country Korea was also undergoing educational reforms that established a modern style education system – but under an apparently colonial context. The educational changes in Korea were similar to those of Egypt, and in more respects China, in that its traditional schools, *sodang*, trained students in the Confucian classics in order to prepare them for the civil examination system.⁴² Nevertheless, it was mainly the Japanese colonial administration that implemented the educational changes. Although the origin and provision of the modern education system in Korea both prior to and during Japanese colonialism is an issue that stirs heated debates even today,⁴³ there is no doubt that the Japanese colonial regime played a pivotal role in providing modern style primary and secondary schools and higher education in the Korean peninsula.

Japanese colonial administration regulated all sectors of the Korean society since its annexation in 1910, including the education system. By the 1920s, the Japanese administration completed a modern education system based on primary and secondary schools; in 1925, the Japanese colonial government decided to establish Kyungseong Imperial College, which is deemed to be the first modern-style higher educational institution in Korea.⁴⁴ Historians generally agree that the purpose of educational reforms by the Japanese colonial regime was to raise subjects loyal to the Japanese Empire and to eliminate Korean traditions; prohibition on the teaching of the Korean language illustrates this point.⁴⁵ After the end of Japanese colonialism in

⁴² G.A. Postiglione and J. Tan, *Going to school in East Asia* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2007), 260.

⁴³ The initial adoption of a modern education system in Korea is a much contested issue that needs further research. For a further discussion, refer to Kil-sang Yi, *20-segi Han'guk Kyoyuksa: Minjo, Oese, Kŭrigo Kyoyuk (20 세기 한국 교육사: 민족, 외세, 그리고 교육; A History of Korean Education in the Twentieth Century)* Kyŏnggi-do Paju-si: Chimmundang, 2007). Refer also to Yun-mi Yi, *Modern Education, Textbooks and the Image of the Nation: Politics of Modernization and Nationalism in Korean Education, 1880-1910* (New York: Garland, 2000).

⁴⁴ Ibid., 65-77.

⁴⁵ For a study on Korean textbooks under Japanese colonial government, which attempted to raise docile yet subordinate colonial subjects loyal to the Japanese empire: Leighanne Yuh, "Contradictions in Korean Colonial Education (조선 식민교육의 모순)" *International Journal of Korean History* 15, no. 1 (2010): 121-149; refer also to Soon-yong Pak and Keumjoong Hwang, "Assimilation and Segregation of Imperial Subjects: 'Educating' the

1945, North and South Korea walked separate paths in organizing their education systems.⁴⁶

Whereas the education system of North Korea – modeled after that of the Soviet Union – was saturated with the state’s communist and nationalist political ideologies, the education system of South Korea received much influence of American educational models and ideas.

From the discussion above, it is evident that the modern education systems developed under different contexts in the three countries, before the official establishment of new regimes in the years 1952, 1949 and 1948. Whereas the Egyptian and Chinese states expanded their state-controlled education systems in a relatively independent and active way, this process was introduced to Korea mainly through the medium of the Japanese colonial system. It was only in the late-1940s that the Korean governments could take a full control of their education systems to restructure them according to national needs. Yet, despite the differences in detail, the governments of the three states were essentially similar in implementing reforms to expand their public education systems in order to raise a spirit of loyalty to rulers amongst the students. These series of educational reforms confined the positions of formerly dominant traditional schools in the respective countries, albeit to different extents. In short, the creation and expansion of public education systems in Egypt, China and Korea demonstrates the states’ agendas of national construction and modernization during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Subsequent regimes continued to utilize the infrastructure and the essential concept of a modern education system in order to instill in students a sense of national identity and patriotism, but with political languages different from those of the previous periods.

Political control over education continued after the aforementioned upheavals and

Colonised during the 1910-1945 Japanese Colonial Rule in Korea,” *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 3 (2011): 377-397.

⁴⁶ For a further discussion on the educational reform of the two Koreas and the influence of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, refer to Charles Armstrong, “The Cultural Cold War in Korea, 1945-1950,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62, no. 1 (2003): 71-99.

establishment of new regimes, but with new orientations in accordance with the states' political propagandas. The Nasserite regime officially endorsed the rhetoric of Arab socialism, while announcing a break from the monarchical and colonial past; on the other side of the continent, Maoist regime openly adopted communism as its basic founding principles. South Korea, different from both of these regimes, openly endorsed democracy while severely denouncing communism. As these regimes gained a control over all sectors of society, the new political principles dictated the reorganization of the education system. The three regimes needed to modify what was being taught at schools in order to legitimize their ascendancies to power. In fact, the use of the education system for indoctrination was more structured and severe in China than in Egypt or South Korea. Yet, the Egyptian and South Korean education system also underwent reforms to suit the needs of the state, albeit to a lesser extent. All in all, the new political languages dictated the reorganization of the educational curriculum and, more importantly, the contents of textbooks.

Similarly, the political orientations and tasks of the three regimes heavily influenced the academic sphere of writing history. This had, inevitably, an influence on the narratives of history textbooks, as intellectuals specializing in history at institutionalized higher education influenced the production and reorganization of history textbooks – whether by composing the textbooks themselves or contributing in the writing process. For example, the Introduction to the textbook “The History of Islam and Islamic Egypt” (*tarikh al-Islam wa misr al-Islamiya*, 1958) reveals that its composer was Muhammad Mustafa Ziyada, who served as the chair of the history department at Cairo University. Likewise, the introduction to the Chinese general history textbook (*Lishi*, 1960) explicitly stated that the textbook was written under the guidance of the CCP, in partnership with professors and senior students of the history department at Huadong

Shifan University and Fudan University. This demonstrates that academics and the state collaborated in producing history textbooks to be used for general education systems.

Therefore in order to understand the context behind the history textbooks' narratives, it is necessary to investigate the ideologies that Egypt, China and South Korea adopted for the purpose of constructing national identity and the specifics of how the regimes prescribed the education system as well as academics' production of historical narratives so as to correspond to their political objectives. In this process, the three regimes were similar in appropriating broader, pan-regional rhetoric ideologies that were circulating across the globe. Yet, the newly established regimes of Egypt, China and South Korea adopted globally disseminated ideologies or models into their specific national contexts. Accordingly, the three nation-states structured their education systems and academic practices of history for the purpose of legitimatizing their ascendancies to power and promoting their versions of nationalism.

Penetration of Nationalist Political Ideologies into Education and Historiography: Mid-Twentieth Century

Following the July Revolution in 1952, Nasser emerged as the official leader of Egypt. He eclectically used the ideas of Egyptian nationalism, Arab socialism, Arab nationalism, Afro-Asian unity, anti-colonialism, and anti-imperialism. The resulting complexity, as well as archival sources that have been limited until only recently, have led to disputes among scholars concerning the essential aspects of Nasserism and the specific workings of his government.⁴⁷ Yet,

⁴⁷ See James Jankowski, introduction to *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism, and the United Arab Republic* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002). Also refer to Elie Podeh and Onn Winckler, *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), which deals comprehensively with the political, socioeconomic, and cultural aspects of Nasserism as well as the Nasser regime's foreign relations.

historians agree that Nasser pragmatically stressed pan-regional identities – such as Arab unity and brotherhood – in order ultimately to advance Egyptian national purposes.⁴⁸ At the same time, there is no doubt that Egypt under Nasser was an authoritarian state that relied on the presidency, the army, and the party;⁴⁹ the new regime deposed the former king, marginalized the old political parties, and initiated social and agrarian reforms based on central planning. In short, despite the controversies that concern the specifics of Nasserism and the extent of Nasser's control over different sectors of the society, it is clear that his political agenda was nationalist and authoritarian at the core.

Nasser's speeches reveal that although he hammered on the necessity of Arab unity, such coalition was a tool to combat imperialist aggression in order to ensure Egypt's national independence and glory. In other words, although Nasser officially advocated for the concept of pan-Arabism, his domestic agenda and Egyptian patriotism preceded such a proposition.⁵⁰ Arab solidarity was essential for the security of Arab nations against imperialism; the problems that endangered the Arab world, in turn, were also the problems of Egypt.⁵¹ Celebrating the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1957, for example, Nasser proclaimed that Arab nationalism is a "weapon employed against aggression," that Egyptians "must advance for the sake of Egypt, glorious Egypt, independent Egypt."⁵² In other words, Arab nationalism was to Nasser a tool for protecting the well-being of Egypt against "aggression," which implied British imperialism and Israel. Even in the workings of regional politics within the Arab world, Nasser was careful to

⁴⁸ Jankowski, *Nasser's Egypt*; On the power of Egyptian nationalism in the political sphere (which ultimately subordinated Egyptian communist parties): Joel Beinin, *Was the Red Flag Flying There? Marxist Politics and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in Egypt and Israel, 1948-1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). On Egyptian supra-nationalism prior to the Nasser regime (1930-1945): Gershoni and Jankowski, *Redefining the Egyptian Nation*.

⁴⁹ Podesh and Winckler, introduction to *Rethinking Nasserism*, 18.

⁵⁰ James Jankowski, "Arab Nationalism in 'Nasserism' and Egyptian State Policy, 1952-1958," in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, ed. Gershoni and Jankowski (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 154-55.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 155.

ensure that any other Arab nation-states did not marginalize Egypt.⁵³ With regards to regional politics, the establishment of the United Arab Republic in 1958, composed of Egypt and Syria, marked the height of Arab nationalism. Yet, this was largely a result of a Syrian initiative that Nasser did not intend to achieve.⁵⁴ All in all, the idea of Arab nationalism that Nasser endorsed served the purpose of the Egyptian nation. Nasser's political regime during the 1950s advocated Egyptian nationalism based on the concepts of Arab nationalism and anti-imperialism for pragmatic purposes. Such characteristics of the political state infiltrated into the education system and the production of historical narratives, as the subsequent section will demonstrate.

Nasser's endorsement of socialism led to a further centralization and standardization of educational administration and curriculum that promoted the development of Egyptian patriotism.⁵⁵ A change in educational curriculum evidently reflects the permeation of politics into education. As the military leadership assumed control of every sector of the society, military training became a part of the educational curriculum, along with a strong emphasis on the acquisition of Arabic language – both subjects became tools for nationalizing Egypt.⁵⁶ Under the revolutionary regime, primary and preparatory schools heavily focused on nurturing a strong loyalty to the regime – students were taught a number of patriotic themes in the study of Islam, nationalism, Arabism and socialism.⁵⁷ Evidently, the political workings of the regime directly influenced the contents of education. A historian who received his education in the post-Revolution period, writing in 1980, recounted:

Based on my own experience...I underwent in my primary, preparatory, and secondary school years, it would be safe to assume that such ceaseless efforts to

⁵³ Ibid., 160.

⁵⁴ For a further discussion, see chapters on the United Arab Republic in Jankowski, *Nasser's Egypt*.

⁵⁵ Cochran, *Educational Roots of Political Crisis in Egypt*, 68.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 69.

⁵⁷ Mahmud A. Faksh, "The Consequences of the Introduction and Spread of Modern Education: Education and National Integration in Egypt," *Middle Eastern Studies* 16, no. 2 (1980): 51.

bring about identification with the regime have been somewhat successful. My classmates and I developed a strong sense of identification and pride with Arabism, anti-colonialism, and nationalist leaders of Nasser's caliber...we were able to express these feelings and attitudes by demonstrating in support of regime causes and against anti-regime causes, domestic or foreign.⁵⁸

The historian's account reveals that his primary, preparatory and secondary schools focused on cultivating in students the concepts of Arabism and anti-colonialism, along with national pride and identification with Nasser. The expansion of the education system and the specific contents to be taught were thus significant parts of the Nasser regime's indoctrination process.

From a document that the Ministry of Education of Egypt published in 1960, it is possible to conjecture that the abovementioned historian would have used textbooks that were recomposed in accordance with the new regime's takeover of power. In 1960, the Ministry of Education published a document that described the course of educational development in Egypt. The section on the post-Revolutionary Egyptian education system reveals that although the Ministry of Education did not have specific instructions on how to change the educational curriculum or what contents in the textbooks to modify, the political setting decided what was to be taught at schools, including the narratives of the history textbooks. In order to maintain the "spirit of the Revolution" and realize its values and the aims, "false values...[and] information" had to be eliminated from the textbooks so as to achieve "liberation from vestige of imperialism." The students had to be taught the "real values emanating from the country's traditions" and how to make use of the "fundamentals of Arab nationalism."⁵⁹ The very terms that define educational objectives resonate with the Nasserist regime's political rhetoric. The same political framework in fact confined the production of historical narratives. As academic historians were ultimately

⁵⁸ Ibid., 52.

⁵⁹ Mohammed Khayri Harby and El-Sayed Mohammed El-Alzawi, *Education in Egypt (U.A.R.) in the Twentieth Century* (Cairo:General Organisation for Government Printing Office, 1960), 54.

the composers of the textbooks, it is necessary to comprehend the backdrop of the academic practice of history in Egypt during this time period.

The Nasserist regime heavily confined the sphere of historical production for political purposes. Yoav Di-Capua sums up the Nasserist regime's sense of history as the "appropriation and modification of already existing histories," for the advantage of the newly established military government.⁶⁰ Moreover, in addition to reinterpreting existing histories to legitimize the Revolution, the military regime sought to "make" history – in other words, to portray the Revolution and Nasser as agents of history in the process of progress. Especially with the Nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956, and the subsequent heroization of Nasser as the leader who freed Egypt from all forms of colonial rule, history became a "present act that was called *historic*."⁶¹ The Nasser regime thus controlled the existing histories, while positioning itself as the leader of the ongoing historical progression of Egypt.

Even Egyptian Marxist historiography, which remained influential into the 1960s despite the crackdown of the Egyptian Communist Party, implicitly served the state's objectives. The Marxist outlook on history in Egypt was intricately linked to the authoritarian, scientific socialism that the Nasser regime endorsed. The Egyptian state borrowed the "communist philosophy of history, which was at the heart of scientific socialism."⁶² The Marxist belief in the existence of a lawful and ordered logic to history led to central planning and short and long-term forecasts. The Marxist vision of history therefore provided the background for the Egyptian government's official stance on the necessity of central control. In other words, Egyptian historians at the time were utilizing a Marxist vision of historical development in order to explain

⁶⁰ Yoav Di-Capua, *Gatekeepers of the Arab Past: Historians and History Writing in Twentieth-century Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 230.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 284.

the general state of the Egyptian society and to justify the state's intervention for social progress.⁶³ Marxist historiography thus contributed to the formation of Egyptian political socialism.

From the above discussion, it follows that the post-1952 Egyptian regime exercised considerable influence in determining the framework of the public education system and the academic production of historical narratives. It modified and expanded the existing state-sponsored education system to promote patriotism and nationalism among the general public. Moreover, writing history in academia was far from a free, scholarly enterprise. In narrating history, the present regime had to be the legitimate successor that would complete the historical progress of the nation. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) around the same period even more explicitly stressed the necessity of the present regime in completing stages of historical progress. This was mainly due to the Marxist-Leninist ideologies that the Party officially adopted, which dictated every sector of the society – more so than Nasserism did in Egypt. Such ideological orientation of the totalitarian Communist Party strictly determined the workings of the public education system and history writing. In the following section, I will explain the basic principles of the CCP that controlled the education system and the academic practice of history.

The CCP, after officially rising to power in 1949, endorsed Marxist-Leninist principles – while striving to strengthen a sense of Chinese national identity and pride. Even though the basic principle of Marxism aimed at building an international communist movement that would unite the proletariat beyond national boundaries, every communist country in fact transformed the

⁶³ For a discussion of Marxist historians who paved the way for discourse of authoritarian modernism in Egypt, besides the work by Yoav Di-Capua, refer to: Roel Meijer, *The Quest for Modernity: Secular Liberal and Left-Wing Political Thought in Egypt, 1945-1958*, (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 67.

ideas of Marxism-Leninism into a ‘national’ version.⁶⁴ This meant that Mao and the CCP still had to apply and appropriate the universal ideologies of Marxism and communism to the Chinese context based on concrete grounds – as Nasser utilized the pan-regional ideology of Arab nationalism for Egypt’s political and ideological objectives. In short, although the CCP officially embraced the principles of communism, as was the case in Egypt, the idea of Chinese national identity was at the center of such a political ideology.

Thus even though Mao adhered to the idea of international alliance between the forces of revolution (led by the Soviet Union) in order to confront imperialism, he established the principle of *Ziligengsheng* – “‘self-reliance’ or ‘regeneration through one’s own efforts’” – which lay at the core of his nationalism.⁶⁵ *Ziligengsheng* identified imperialism as the enemy and emphasized the necessity of ensuring independence, self-esteem and self-help for the Chinese nation. The Stalin-led Soviet Union, with which the CCP developed intimate ties, also gradually became an object that China had to be wary of. In other words, despite Mao’s support for Soviet-led internationalism and tight collaboration with Stalin during the early phase of his rule, from the mid to late 1960s, he sought to attenuate cooperation with the Soviet Union. Subsequently, he applied the concept of *Ziligengsheng* to the Soviet Union – the Soviet Union was now classified as a foreign influence that China had to eradicate in order to safeguard its independence and pursuit of the true Communist path. Thus, the Mao regime selectively accepted and modified Soviet communist ideologies and models based on Marxist-Leninist principles in order to suit the needs of the Chinese nation.

Marxist-Leninist principles with distinctive characteristics that promoted Chinese

⁶⁴ Saki Dockrill and Geraint Hughes, *Palgrave Advances in Cold War History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 90.

⁶⁵ Steven Goldstein, “Nationalism and Internationalism: Sino-Soviet Relations,” in Thomas Robinson and David Shambaugh, *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 228.

nationalism inevitably guided the restructuring of the education system. The CCP utilized the education system in order to enhance the state's political agendas on a scale much greater than before. Observers have noted that China's education system since 1949 has become an apparatus within the state, that has functioned to endorse the CCP's vision of national development.⁶⁶ The Common Programme, drafted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949, well illustrates this point:

Article 41. The culture and education of the People's Republic of China are new democratic, that is national, scientific, and popular. The main tasks for raising the cultural level of the people are: training of personnel for national construction work; liquidating of feudal, comprador, Fascist ideology; and developing of the ideology of serving the people.

Article 42. Love for the fatherland and the people, love of labour, love of science, and the taking care of public property shall be promoted as the public spirit of all nationals of the People's Republic of China.

..Article 44. Article 44. The application of a scientific, historical viewpoint to the study and interpretation of history, economics, politics, culture, and international affairs shall be promoted . . .⁶⁷

The education system was responsible for training persons for "national construction work" and for cultivating "love for the fatherland." These tasks are evidently nationalistic. In addition, the terms that characterize the Marxist interpretation of history – such as "liquidating of feudal...ideology," "love of labor," and "the application of a scientific, historical viewpoint" – also clearly defined educational objectives. The goals of the education system therefore were explicitly nationalist while also aiming to endorse specific political philosophies of the CCP.

The same political language that defined the framework of the education system also characterized the historical narratives of textbooks. Terms such as *fengjian shehui* (feudalist society), *jieji douzheng* (class struggle), and *zibenzhuyi* (capitalism) defined the chronological divisions and narrative contents of the textbooks. This is not surprising, considering that the

⁶⁶ Mun C. Tsang, "Education and National Development in China Since 1949: Oscillating Policies and Enduring Dilemmas," *China Review* (2000): 579-618.

⁶⁷ R.E. Price, *Education in Modern China* (London: Routledge, 1979), 28-29.

Party openly controlled the academic practice of history, which played a central role in composing the history textbooks. As noted earlier, Chinese historians and professors at higher education institutions collaborated to write the history textbooks, under the guidance of the Party.

Historiography under the CCP strictly adhered to the application of Marxist principles to the interpretation of China's past while announcing a radical break with China's Confucius traditions. With the CCP in total charge, writing history based on a Marxist vision gained exceptional momentum. Historians attempted to apply the Marxist view of history directly to the Chinese historical context, and at the same time to legitimize China's historical development as a continuation and completion of a series of revolutions that Marx envisioned. The CCP, in turn, was to be responsible for realizing the Marxist vision of historical progression in China.⁶⁸ The period between 1949 and the late 1970 was when the central government exerted the most control on historical production; dissenters were marginalized.⁶⁹ In short, Chinese historians had to reinterpret China's past according to Marxist standards that the Party advocated for.

At the same time, Chinese Marxist historians endeavored to emphasize a distinctive Chinese national identity in their rewriting of Chinese history. Because Russian Marxist historiography had a direct influence on Chinese historiography,⁷⁰ Chinese Marxist historians attempted to apply Soviet interpretations of historical progression and Marxism to the Chinese context. Nevertheless, even though they acknowledged the usefulness of the Soviet interpretation of world history, the Chinese historians acted on their own nationalist impulse: they "negotiated with Marxism, a transnational ideology, and appropriated it to consolidate their position on the

⁶⁸ See Dorothea Martin, *The Making of a Sino-Marxist Worldview: Perceptions and Interpretations of World History in the People's Republic of China* (London: M.E. Sharpe, 1990).

⁶⁹ See Chapter 4 of Sachsenmaier, *Global Perspectives on Global History*.

⁷⁰ Edward Wang, "Between Marxism and Nationalism: Chinese Historiography and the Soviet Influence, 1949-1963," *Journal of Contemporary China* 9, no. 23 (2000): 98.

one hand and circumscribe the Soviet dominance on the other.”⁷¹ In other words, even as they followed the universal Marxist framework, Chinese historians reinterpreted the Chinese past and also stressed the national characteristics of Chinese history. Essentially nationalists, they aimed to “bring out jade with borrowed stone”: to use something valuable but foreign in order to reach a national objective.⁷² As explained above, such nationalistic historical interpretation legitimized the CCP as the necessary actor for realizing a Chinese version of communism.

In sum, the CCP propagated a structured, distinctively nationalist version of Marxist-Leninist communist principles. This political ideology evidently pervaded the education and academic sectors, all of which collaborated to produce history textbooks. The Party strived to implement Marxist-Leninist principles in the public education system to inculcate in students a sense of patriotism to the nation while also applying a Marxist interpretation of historical progress to understanding the Chinese past. It is noteworthy that a similar phenomenon happened in Egypt, as the socialist Nasser regime constrained the sectors of education and history writing to advance its political agenda. Nasser, too, had incorporated a pan-regional ideology of Arab nationalism into Egyptian nationalism. True, the extent of the two regimes’ repression and the details of their political ideologies differed. Yet, the two authoritarian states followed similar patterns in dictating the fields of education and historical production. This demonstrates that for both of the regimes, propagating national identity and patriotism formed the core of their political rhetoric. Ideologies based on pan-regional, transnational identities during this period, which also had a considerable influence, were configured as appropriate to such national local contexts.

In a broad sense, South Korea was not different from Egypt or China in witnessing

⁷¹ Ibid., 95.

⁷² Ibid., 98.

localization of a global ideology, as well as intrusion of the state's political agenda into the education system and historiography. The South Korean Rhee Syng-man administration in the post-liberation period adopted free democracy as its official political and ideological path to follow, in direct opposition to North Korea and China. At the same time, the Rhee administration sought to interpret democracy in ways that could stress the unique traditions of Korea as a whole, and South Korea's mission to preserve the homogeneity of Korea against communism. The two points of emphasis also shaped the regime's perception of democracy.

Explaining the geopolitical background of the Korean peninsula at the start of the Cold War would be helpful in understanding the political orientation of the South Korean state. After the end of Japanese colonialism in 1945, the Soviet Union and the United States respectively occupied the North and South Korea. In 1948 President Rhee Syng-man was elected the first president of South Korea, continuing to hold control after the end of the Korean War (1950-53) onto 1960, until he was deposed due to widespread protests against his authoritarian and corrupt measures. Therefore, it is not surprising that South Korea's democratic regime explicitly posited itself in direct opposition to North Korean communism. Such orientation reflected the ideological division of different nation-states during the Cold War and the encompassing influence of the United States on the southern part of the Korean peninsula. In sharp contrast to South Korea, Kim Il-sung's regime in North Korea endorsed the principles of nationalist *Juche* ideology based on communist principles while officially promoting international communism and developing tight alliances with China and the Soviet Union.⁷³ Free democracy for South Korea, on the other hand, was to serve as a means to combat communism and to ensure the legitimacy of the new-founded government. At the same time, intellectuals and politicians of

⁷³ See Alzo David-West, "Marxism, Stalinism and the Juche Speech of 1955: On the Theoretical De-Stalinization of North Korea." *The Review of Korean Studies* 10, no. 3 (2007): 138.

both North and South Korea stressed the ethnically homogeneous nature of Korean national identity.⁷⁴

Furthermore, the South Korean government shared the authoritarian nature that characterized the regimes of Egypt and China, albeit, arguably, to a lesser extent. The Rhee regime, despite its endorsement of democratic principles and institutions, was in essence authoritarian. In order to ensure the dominance of the Liberalist Party and the maintenance of his political power, Rhee utilized the military, the police, and the populist groups according to his needs. Members of the Parliament were often surrounded by the military or be imprisoned at times of political decision-making processes. Secretive investigation groups threatened and limited the activities of opposing politicians.⁷⁵ At times of elections, the state generated intimidating atmosphere by temporarily arresting or imposing fines on ordinary persons under the pretext of cracking down misdemeanors.⁷⁶

Against such background, Rhee proclaimed the nationalist idea of *Ilmin chuui* (One people-ism; an ideology of one people) as the policy of the new nation with his ascendancy to power in 1948.⁷⁷ Although the extent to which this ideology and the state's nationalistic rhetoric permeated the sectors of the South Korean society in actuality is a matter of controversy,⁷⁸ this official political language that the South Korean state adopted was evidently nationalistic.

According to Rhee, the purpose of *Ilmin chuui* was to create a unified Korean nation, to construct

⁷⁴ Chan-seung Park, *Minjok, Minjok Ju-eui* (민족, 민족주의) (Seoul: Sowha, 2010), 111~116.

⁷⁵ Myung-lim Park, "Democracy and Authoritarianism in Korea during the 1950s (1950년대 한국의 민주주의와 권위주의)" in *Choices and Refractions of North and South Korea in the 1950s (1950년대 남북한의 선택과 굴절)*, ed. Institute for Korean Historical Studies (Seoul: Yeoksa Pipyongsa, 1998), 98-99.

⁷⁶ Kyung-il Kim, "Social Ideology of the late 1950s: Democracy and Nationalism (1950년대 후반의 사회이념: 민주주의와 민족주의)" in *Korean Society in the Second Half of the 1950s and the Collapse of Syngman Rhee's Government (1950년대 후반기의 한국사회와 이승만정부의 붕괴)*, ed. Han Heung-su et al (Seoul: Oruem Publishing House, 1998).

⁷⁷ Gi-wook Shin and Paul Y. Chang, "The Politics of Nationalism in U.S.-Korean Relations," *Asian Perspective* 4 (2004): 125. See also Gi-wook Shin, *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics and Legacy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 100-103.

⁷⁸ Kyung-il Kim, "Social Ideology of the late 1950s," 56.

the basis of democracy as appropriate to the Korean context, and to combat communism. *Ilmin chuui* thus had to maintain and protect the ethnically homogeneous Korean community. Its core doctrine included raising ordinary people's standard of living, eliminating divisions between regions in order to ensure homogenous Korean community, and implementing gender equality.⁷⁹ The ideology, in addition, incorporated traditional ideals. It stressed *Hongik Ingan* (benefit the human race) – a value upheld by *Tankun* (a mythical figure believed to be the ancestor and the first of the Korean race). Besides *Hongik Ingan*, the present Korea had to pursue the ideals of *Hwarang chuui*, as had been in the Shilla dynasty (57 BCE-935 AD) that unified the three existing states in the Korea peninsula.⁸⁰ *Ilmin chuui* thus aimed to construct unity of the Korean nation based on explicitly ethnic rhetoric, to provide the basis for democracy and to oppose communism. It was a part of the state's efforts to construct a distinctive, unified national identity in the postcolonial era, and to safeguard its political legitimacy.

Furthermore, *Ilmin chuui* accentuated aspects of democracy inherent in Korean traditions, and the need to promote such distinctive form of democracy for the welfare of the whole Korean people. Ahn Ho-sang, an advocate and a framer of *Ilmin chuui*, identified the organizational structure of the Shilla dynasty as the pioneering style of democracy unique to Korea. According to Ahn, Koreans since the time of *Tangun* (approximately 4,286 years ago) started electing respectable elderly person as the leaders, who decided the important matters. Such tradition continued to the time of Shilla, preceding the democratic practices in Greece. Ahn further argued that democracy as promoted by *Ilmin chuui* was inspired by these ancient traditions. As *Ilmin chuui* stressed the unity of the people, democracy according to this principle valued people's collective freedom, rather than individual freedom. Ahn viewed that the emphasis on individual

⁷⁹ Chan-seung Park, *Minjok, Minjok Ju-eui*, 226.

⁸⁰ Chan-seung Park, *Minjok, Minjok Ju-eui*, 228.

freedom in capitalistic, democratic society inhibits patriotism – which makes such model of democracy inappropriate for South Korea.⁸¹ The supporters of *Ilmin chuui*, therefore, sought to redefine the globally circulating model of democracy according to the historical and political context of the nation-state – as had done their Egyptian and Chinese counterparts.

The political rhetoric permeated the education sector. The aforementioned Ahn Ho-sang was appointed as the first Minister of Education in the Rhee administration. He intensely argued for the necessity of education that would lay ground for democracy of the Korean nation. Simultaneously, he focused on disseminating *Ilmin chuui* through his educational policies in order to unify national spirit and establish the basis for anti-communism. A statement titled “Aims of our Education,” composed in 1949 by a representative of the Ministry of Education, also shows the intrusion of the political atmosphere of the times into educational objectives. The document criticized American style of democracy and Soviet communism, claiming that the Korea had to find the most appropriate model of national democracy (*minjok-jeok minju-chuui*). Education of Korea had to pursue this political orientation.⁸² Besides the values of democracy, the educational principles in South Korea in the postliberation period and in the 1950s emphasized Confucian traditions, anti-communism for the survival of the nation, democracy, and desire for modernization.⁸³ These themes are visible in the last chapter of the South Korean national history textbook that this thesis analyzes. Under the title “Our Mission,” the textbook states that South Korea (“we”) must formulate cooperative relations with the democratic allies and endeavor to develop South Korea (“our nation”) into a national state (*minjok gukga*). Feudal past and communism are hindrances to this mission. It follows that the South Korean people

⁸¹ Oh-byung Chae, “Localization through Globalization: Postcolonial National Culture in South Korea (지구화를 통한 지역화: 남한의 탈식민국가 문화)” *Economy and Society* 80, winter issue (2008): 230-235.

⁸² Joong-seok Seo, “Ilmin chuui and Fascism during the Early Phase of the Rhee Syngman Regime (이승만정권 초기의 일민주의와 파시즘)” in *Choices and Refractions of North and South Korea in the 1950*, 43-44.

⁸³ Myung-lim Park, “Democracy and Authoritarianism in Korea during the 1950s, 119.

need to fight these factors in order to realize a democratic South Korea. All in all, the dominant political and social slogan of the times were apparent in the contents of the history textbook, as well as in the values and goals of the national education system.

The discussion above tells that although the South Korean regime in the 1950s adhered to an ideology different from that of Egypt and China, the three states were similar in defining their founding principles in explicitly nationalist terms. The distinctive nationalist political ideologies manifested themselves in the national education system and policies. In this process of building a unified nation, the regimes of the three states tightened their control over the overall society to different extents. As previously observed, the states of Egypt and China also guided the process of producing historical narratives. A similar phenomenon was observable in South Korea, although the regime was not as explicit as the two other countries in dictating what the historians had to write. Nevertheless, the political and social atmosphere that upheld nationalist, anti-communist and anti-colonial past shaped intellectuals' writing of history in many significant ways. Historiography in South Korea during the postliberation period and onwards focused on solidifying the national past and providing historical narratives that disproved historiography of the colonial times.

Even though the state's control over historians was less intense in South Korea than in the two countries previously examined, political orientations of the state still largely influenced the direction of writing history. During the period between the liberation in 1945 and the end of the Korean War in 1953, historians had to choose between the two political camps according to their beliefs. Marxist historians residing in South Korea had to be moved to North Korea. With the breakout of the Korean War, even a few Marxist historians who had remained in South Korea until 1948 could no longer stay in the South Korean academia. After the removal of Marxist

historians, historical research based on study of ancient documents formed the mainstream of historiography in South Korea.⁸⁴ In other words, historians could not help but yield to the weight of the political situation of the times.

After the end of the Korean War and the official division of the two Koreas, preserving national identity and offering alternatives to the colonial historical narratives formed the core of history writing in South Korea. Nationalist history writing, which assumed the timeless existence of the Korean nation and as the basic unit for interpreting the world, have characterized the overall South Korean historiography during this period and onto the present.⁸⁵ In addition, a central aim of history writing in the postcolonial era was to revision historical narratives produced during the Japanese colonial rule. Historians in the postcolonial era focused on refuting stagnation and heteronomy of Korean history. During the late 1950s and 1960s, for example, finding seeds of capitalism in the late Chosun dynasty prior to the Japanese rule became a central focus of historical research.⁸⁶ All in all, although the state may have not exercised a direct control over the process of writing history, as had been the case in Egypt or China, the political and social needs of the times defined the direction of producing historical narratives in South Korea. Nationalist, anti-colonial and anti-communist rhetoric predominantly characterized South Korean historiography.

It is noticeable from the overall discussion that, to different extents, historical productions and the education systems in Egypt, China and South Korea in the 1950s and early 1960s faced limitations placed by the political state. The penetration of political ideology into sectors of

⁸⁴ Dong-geol Cho et al, *Historians and Historiography of Korea v.2* (*한국역사가와 역사학 하*), (Seoul: Changjak kwa Pipyongsa, 1994), 328-31.

⁸⁵ See Jie-hyun Lim, "A Critical Examination of 'Minjok' in the Field of Korean History(한국 사학계의 '민족'에 대한 비판적 검토)" *Yeoksa Bipyounng* 28 (1994): 114-137.

⁸⁶ Refer to Hae-dong Yun, *Twilight of Modern Historiography* (*근대 역사학의 황혼*), (Seoul: Chaek kwa Hamkke, 2010).

education and history writing appeared explicitly and in a structured way in the communist regime of China, more-so than in Egypt under Nasser or South Korea under Rhee. South Korea's official adherence to democracy and the active involvement of the United States, to some extent, placed a limit to the power that the state could exercise. Yet, the three regimes were authoritarian governments that held apparent power over the overall sectors of the society. The leaders of the regimes were fully dedicated nationalists and simultaneously propagators of pan-regional ideologies and alliances. Nevertheless, they ultimately strived to position their nations as not only independent entities carrying distinctive characteristics and cultures, but also as protagonists that actively founded their own ways of development. To achieve this purpose, the education system's historical narratives had to strengthen national pride and justify the current regimes. This is not to make a sweeping generalization about every historical work written in these countries during the period, but to demonstrate the dominant tendency of politicization of education and history in the three countries.

Conclusion

From the discussion above, it is evident that the three states of Egypt, China and South Korea configured globally circulating concepts and models according to their specific geopolitical, historical and national contexts. For the three states, nationalism became the fundamental principle for interpreting the global order and organizing the geographically delineated states. This, in fact, held true universally for all nation-states across the globe during the twentieth century. In this environment where the idea of the nation served as the basis for understanding the present and the past, nation-states had to reevaluate and rewrite their pasts in order to uphold their pride, legitimacy and longevity. As they defined nationalist political

ideologies, the three states had to restructure educational institutions in order to promote the nationalist principles. This process was essential especially in third world countries that had to interpret their undeniable losses against imperial and colonial powers. In the early period of the Cold War in particular, with the founding of new regimes following political upheavals and a global environment that in many ways was changing from a colonial to an international system, the task of constructing the nation through historical writing and an institutionalized education system gained intense urgency. Egypt, China and South Korea were a part of this world that struggled to construct their nations in the rapidly changing global order. The three states' control over the education system and the production of historical narratives according to national identities that they dictated were crucial parts of this endeavor.

Configuration of global ideologies according to local, national contexts was not limited to the nation-states' political spheres. Historical narratives had to explain the state of the world in relation to the narrating nation-state. In fulfilling this task, history writing in Egypt, China and South Korea had much in common in endorsing Eurocentric rhetoric, which permeated the historical narratives of the textbooks as well. At the same time, even as the textbooks of the three states shared the Eurocentric framework for interpreting world history, they focused on specific aspects of Europe as appropriate to their national political and ideological orientations. As the next chapter will reveal, these local particularities produced multiple perceptions of Europe, which was considered the center of world history.

CHAPTER TWO

Perceptions of the World: Europe and the Peripheries

Introduction

The production of historical knowledge across the globe for the past two centuries has positioned Europe as the center of the world. As Dipesh Chakrabarty has noted, “a certain version of ‘Europe,’ reified and celebrated in the phenomenal world of everyday relationships of power as the scene of the birth of the modern, continues to dominate the course of history...Europe works as a silent referent in historical knowledge.”⁸⁷ The field of world history writing in particular has reflected this notion saliently.⁸⁸ The historicist scheme of “First in Europe, then Elsewhere” implied that universal historical progress based on human reason flowed from Europe to the rest of the world.⁸⁹ The regions in the colonial orbit that had not undergone the same process of historical development tended to regard that they had to emulate Europe, or to prove that standards of progress such as capitalism and democracy that derived from Europe had existed indigenously, albeit in a nascent stage.

Areas of historical study in many parts of the world, including Egypt, China and South Korea, were divided into two areas of national and world history.⁹⁰ World history in this context – especially that of modern times – did not mean an encompassing, geographically proportional account of the history of the “world” in the literal sense, but rather a history of Europe. Although attention was occasionally given to the histories of the non-European countries, as had been the

⁸⁷ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 28.

⁸⁸ Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, “World History in a Global Age,” *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 4 (October 1995): 1036.

⁸⁹ Jie-Hyun Lim, “The Configuration of Orient and Occident in the Global Chain of National Histories: Writing National Histories in Northeast Asia,” in *Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media and the Arts*, ed. Stefan Berger et al (Oxford: Berghan Books, 2008).

⁹⁰ For China, a major factor that contributed to this separation was the lack of foreign sources, and the limited number of Marxist scholars who could handle what existed of the sources. See Dorothea Martin, *The Making of a Sino-Marxist Worldview: Perceptions and Interpretations of World History in People’s Republic of China*. (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.1990). Refer also to Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Global Perspectives on Global History: Theories and Approaches in a Connected World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

case in China with the adoption of Leninist Marxism, history of this part of the world was seen largely through the lens of European colonialism and subsequent independence movements. In this framing discourse, Europe was positioned as the primary actor of a history that unilaterally led to linear historical developments. The criteria for judging historical progress in “other” parts of the world derived from European discourses of progress; European history became a model to learn from, and a standard to measure a nation-state’s historical journey into Western ideas of modernity.

At the same time, it is questionable whether Europe represented a single, fixed image for all of the nation-states that had encountered its expansion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The narratives of the textbooks, indeed, perceived Europe as the main agent in the progression of world history. This concept assumed that there existed a universal model for historical development of mankind that could be applied to anywhere, which Europe happened to achieve firsthand. Yet, even though the textbooks shared this general Eurocentric notion, their interpretations of European history and of the position of the self in relation to Europe depended on the nation-state’s geopolitical and ideological orientations. In the process of appropriating modern European history as world history, the political ideologies of the nation-states played a critical role in deciding what aspects to focus on in interpreting the position of Europe in history. This chapter illustrates that within the textbooks’ shared Eurocentric view on world history, the nation-states’ dominant political ideologies that shaped the historical frameworks for the textbooks generated multiple forms of interpretations regarding the progression of European history.

Shared Euro-centric View of World History

Noticeably, the narratives of the world history textbooks of the three nation-states revolved around the history of Europe. Both the number of pages dedicated to Europe in each textbook, and chronological divisions that defined “modern” era illustrate the textbooks’ Eurocentric view of world history. In fact, the Chinese textbook *History* elaborated more on Chinese national history than on European history. Out of a total of 250 pages, sections on China occupied 165 pages (3 of which dealt with independence movements in different parts of Asia), while 45 pages were devoted to Western Europe and 25 to Russia. Despite the dominance of contents on Chinese history in terms of quantity, however, European historical events granted the framework for understanding developments in Chinese history. The standards for understanding historical development originated from the history of Western Europe and Russia. Ideologically, Marxist interpretation of history provided the basis for the textbook’s Eurocentric identification of world history. These concepts and standards were then applied to the Chinese national context. The table of contents well illustrates this point:

Table of Contents for the Chinese History Textbook *History*

Part I:

First Section: Primitive Society ----- 1

Second Section: Slave Society – Humanity’s first society based on class division

Chapter 1: Ancient states (*guojia*) based on slavery system ----- 5

1) The earliest state in history based on slavery system: Egypt ----- 5

2) The most developed state in history based on slavery system: Rome ----- 9

Chapter 2: Chinese society based on slavery system ----- 15

1) The creation (*chansheng*) of a state based on slavery system ----- 15

2) The disintegration of society based on slavery system ----- 19

3) The culture of Chinese society based on slavery system ----- 21

Third Section: Feudal Society

Chapter 1: The feudal society of Western Europe ----- 25

1) The formation of feudal society in Western Europe

2) The development of feudal society in Western Europe

3) The collapse of feudal society in Western Europe

Chapter 2: The establishment of Chinese feudal society ----- 38

- 1) The formation of a centralized feudal state, Qin Dynasty
- 2) The first massive peasant uprising and the Han Empire
- 3) Yellow Turban Uprising and Tuntian System of Caowei
- 4) The Integration of ethnic groups (*gezu renmin*) and struggle for unification

Chapter 3: The development of Chinese feudal society ----- 61

- 1) Peasants' Wars (*zhanzheng*) at the end of Sui Dynasty, and Tang Dynasty
- 2) Peasants' Wars (*zhanzheng*) at the end of Tang Dynasty and Development of Regional Economy
- 3) The Economic Development in the Cities (*chengshi jingji*) in the two Songs, and Social Contradictions (*maodun*)
- 4) Peasants' Wars (*zhanzheng*) at the end of Yuan Dynasty and the Ming Empire

Chapter 4: The Decomposition (*shuailuo*) of Chinese Feudal Society ----- 85

- 1) Handicraft Industry (*shougong gongchang*) and Struggle of the Citizens (*shimin*)
- 2) Peasant Wars (*zhanzheng*) at the end of Ming
- 3) Struggles in Resistance to the Qing at various places, and Economic Development in early Qing
- 4) Uprisings of ethnic groups (*gezu renmin*) in Opposition to Qing

Chapter 5: The Culture of Chinese Feudal Society ----- 101

- 1) Scientific Thought, Literature, History and Arts
- 2) Scientific Technology

Part II

Fourth Section: The Establishment of Capitalist System and the Start of Chinese People's Struggles against the invasion of Foreign Capitalism

Chapter 1: The building of bloody system of capitalism in England and France--- 1

- 1) The dictatorship of the English bourgeois class and the Industrial Revolution
- 2) The revolution of the French bourgeois

Chapter 2: the start of Chinese people's struggles against the invasion of foreign capitalism -----10

- 1) The Opium War
- 2) China starts to turn into semi-colonial, semi-feudal society

Chapter 3: The birth and dissemination of scientific communism ----- 18

- 1) Workers movements during the first half of the nineteenth century
- 2) The birth of scientific capitalism
- 3) The first international

Chapter 4: The upsurge of first revolution(*geming*) in modern China – the Taiping Rebellion (*taiping tianguo geming yundong*) ----- 37

- 1) The establishment of revolutionary regime
- 2) Farmland (*tianmu*) system and foreign relations of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom
- 3) The failure of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and its historical significance
- 4) The rebellions of ethnic minority groups (*gedi gezu renmin qiyi*) under the influence of Taiping Heavenly

Fifth Section: The transformation of “Free” capitalism into imperialism, the development of international workers movement, and the upsurge of Chinese people’s anti-imperial struggles -57

Chapter 1: The Paris Commune -----	57
Chapter 2: The creation of Chinese proletariat and national bourgeois -----	64
1) The creation of Chinese national capitalism -----	64
2) The characteristics of Chinese proletariat and national bourgeois -----	67
Chapter 3: Capitalism enters its dying stage – Imperialism -----	72
Chapter 4: The development of Chinese people’s struggle against invasion -----	82
Chapter 5: Jiawu Sino-Japanese War and the deepening of Chinese national crisis –	89
Chapter 6: The bourgeois’ reform movements : Hundred Days reform -----	98
Chapter 7: The upsurge of Chinese people’s anti-imperial struggles: Boxer Rebellion-	102

Sixth Section: Asia’s Awakening (*juexing*) and the Downfall of Imperialism

Chapter 1: 1905 Russian Revolution -----	113
Chapter 2: Asia’s Awakening -----	119
Chapter 3: National (<i>minzu</i>) revolution under the leadership of Chinese bourgeois – Xinhai Revolution-	122
1) The establishment of Chinese wenmenghui	
2) Upsurge of ethnic groups’ (<i>ge di ren min</i>) revolts	
3) Xinhai Revolution	
Chapter 4: The First World War -----	135

The third section on feudalism (85 pages), for example, began with a description of feudalism in Western Europe (13 pages). The narrative on the history of feudal China then followed. Likewise, the fourth section that explained the development of capitalism, imperialism and Chinese anti-imperial struggles began with “the building of bloody system of capitalism in England and France,” positing the events in the two countries as the instigator for the crucial events in Chinese history. The fifth section, which continued to elaborate on this theme as well as international proletariat movement, similarly began with the “Paris Commune,” followed by explanations on proletariat and bourgeois classes in China. Even the last section on “Asia’s Awakening and Downfall of Imperialism” started with the Russian Revolution, which

represented a major world force that opposed imperialist agenda and a realizer of socialist revolution. Thus other than the very first sections on states based on slavery systems, the subsequent parts on feudalism, capitalism, imperialism and socialism posited Western Europe or Russia as the preceding main agents of history.

The South Korean textbook's account of world history was equally Eurocentric. In its introduction, the South Korean textbook stated that the textbook paid a particular attention to unambiguously delineating differences between the civilizations of the "East" and "West" so as to prevent any confusion between the two. Indeed, in describing the ancient (60 pages) and medieval (50 pages) periods, the textbook devoted approximately same number of pages to what it divided as the "East" and the "West," albeit with overtones stressing the superiority of the Western thoughts. For instance, with regards to the ancient period, China, India and the Orient (meaning the Mesopotamian region) constituted the section for the "East" (31 pages). Subsequently, 29 pages that explained the civilization of the "West" followed (16 pages for Greece, 13 pages for Rome). Therefore, at least for the contents covering the periods of ancient and medieval times, the textbook allocated similar numbers of pages to the "East" and the "West."

Nevertheless, when it came down to the modern times, events in Western Europe almost solely filled the descriptions on world history. Out of the total 287 pages of the textbook, 103 pages were devoted to the modern era and 61 pages to the contemporary world. The very first page of the section "the Modern World" stated that although the West (used to indicate Western Europe) underwent an inactive and static period during the medieval times, it served as the main actor for leading modern world history.⁹¹ Out of 103 pages on the modern world, 90 pages explained the formation of modern European Renaissance, scientific progress, growth of

⁹¹ Seong-geun Kim, *World History (sae-gye-sa 세계사)* (Seoul: Kyo-Woo-Sa, 1956), 122.

capitalism and civil society, political revolutions that matured democracy, and European culture, arts and philosophy. The rest of the textbook on the contemporary world described the first and second World Wars, focusing on the breakouts and aftermaths of the wars themselves, as well as their impacts on independence movements.

Table of Contents of the South Korean textbook *World History*

Introduction: Humanity in the prehistoric times and primitive culture

First Section: the Ancient World	9
Chapter 1: Ancient China	11
Chapter 2: Ancient India	24
Chapter 3: the Orient	30
1) The rise and fall of states	
2) The society and culture of the Orient	
Chapter 4: Greece	42
1) Aegean Civilization	
2) Polis and its development	
3) The Prosperity of Athens	
4) Classical culture of Greece	
5) The age of Hellenism	
Chapter 5: Rome	58
1) The Roman Republic	
2) The Roman Empire	
3) The Roman Culture	
4) Primitive Christianity	
 Second Section: the Medieval World	71
Chapter 1: Western Christian world	73
1) The formation of the Western world	
2) Feudal system	
3) The development of Roman papacy	
4) The Crusades	
5) The culture of medieval West	
Chapter 2: the Byzantine and Islamic world	91
1) The Eastern Roman Empire and the culture of Byzantines	
2) The Islamic Empire and Sassanid culture	
Chapter 3: The development of Han culture and the Mongol Empire	100
1) The division within China and unification by Sui and Tang dynasties	
2) Society and Culture of Tang Dynasty	
3) Song Dynasty and activities of ethnic groups in the north	
4) Chosun and Japan	

Third Section: The Modern World

Chapter 1: The birth of modern Europe -----	123
1) Modernization of European states	
2) The development of cities	
3) The Renaissance	
4) The revival of sciences and discovery of the world	
5) The religious Reformation	
Chapter 2: Absolutism and the growth of citizens -----	149
1) The development of modern states	
2) Contest for colonies	
3) Capitalism and civil society	
4) Culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries	
5) The Enlightenment	
Chapter 3: Modern Revolutions -----	172
1) American Revolution	
2) French Revolution	
3) Napoleon the First	
4) Industrial Revolution	
5) Democracy and Nationalism	
6) Western culture in the nineteenth century	
Chapter 4: Stagnation of Asia -----	213
1) Dictatorship in Ming and Qing Dynasties	
2) Society and Culture of Ming and Qing	
3) The conditions of Asia other than China	
 Fourth Section: the Contemporary World	
Chapter 1: Imperialism and the First World War -----	226
1) Imperialistic states	
2) Division of Africa and the Pacific	
3) Colonization of Asia and the establishment of the Republic of China	
4) International relations prior to the World War	
5) The First World War	
6) The Treaty of Versailles and International Cooperation	
7) Trends of each country after the War	
Chapter 2: Totalitarianism and the Second World War -----	258
1) Totalitarianism and international conflict	
2) The Second World War	
3) The United Nations	
4) Trends of each country after the War	
5) Heightening of Conflict between America and the Soviet Union	
6) Contemporary sciences and the spirit of the times -----	287

The third section “Modern World,” for example, started a with a chapter on the “Birth of Modern Europe,” which elaborated on the Renaissance and the “discovery of the new world.”

The language itself – “discovery” – implies the Eurocentric view that turned the parts of the world other than Europe only the passive recipients of European actions. The chapters that followed – “absolutism and the growth of citizens,” “modern revolutions” that described French, American revolutions and the evolution of democracy, and “Western culture in the nineteenth century” evidently show that the textbook’s narrative placed Europe as the center of world history, especially since the modern times.

Viewing Europe as the leading agent of modern world history, especially in terms of intellectual, scientific, and political development, also characterized the narrative of the Egyptian world history textbook, *The Origins of the Modern World*. This world history textbook explicitly started with the explanation on developments in sciences, philosophies and arts during the European Renaissance – following a brief commentary on the Middle Ages. As the introduction to the textbook stated, the purpose of the textbook in narrating the history of Europe from the end of the Middle Ages was to let students understand “the development of human thought, goods and evils it generated for the world...[and] positions of authoritarian, democratic, economic and colonial systems – the principles of which have witnessed an unprecedented development in the modern era.”⁹² After a 36-page-long description of the European Renaissance, the textbook proceeded to the chapters “Geographical discoveries and European colonialism (49p),” “Advances in Natural Sciences (17p),” “Revolutions of the people against absolutism (41p),” “the Industrial Revolution (17p),” “the Growth of National Movements in Europe (39p),” “Expansion of Europe’s Power in the World (42p),” and finally, “People’s Vigilance against European Colonialism (49p).”

⁹² Muhammad Abdel Rahim Mustafa and Muhammad Ahmed Hasoona. Introduction to *Origins of the Modern World* (*wusul al-3lm al-hadith; أصول العالم الحديث*). (Cairo: Ministry of Education, 1957).

Table of Contents for the Egyptian Textbook *Origins of the Modern World*

Chapter 1: The European Renaissance -----	1
1) The Introduction of the Renaissance and its Characteristics – The transformation of European society from the Middle Ages to the modern era. The collapse of feudal system in Europe.	
2) Beginning of the Renaissance and the Influence of the East and the Islamic Civilization to the Renaissance	
3) Scientific (Intellectual?) Progress – the appearance of modern European languages	
4) Renaissance in the arts – the most important center of the Renaissance in Italy: Florence	
5) Transfer of the Renaissance outside Italy: its manifestations in Germany, France, and England	
6) Religious aspect of the Renaissance (the Reformation movement)	
Chapter 2: Geographical discoveries and European colonialism -----	37
1) Factors that led to geographical discoveries (Eastern trade, the Crusades)	
2) Portugal's discoveries in the eastern seas and the influence of such on the center of Egypt and on the Middle East	
3) Discoveries of Spain and Portugal, and Colonialism in America	
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- 2) Examples of struggles of some European peoples to realize liberation from absolute rule, and the turn (*itijah*) towards unification of the nation (*dawla*) (Brief indication of completion of unity in all of Italy and Germany)

Chapter 7: Expansion of Europe's Power in the World ----- 200

- 1) Characteristics of Expansion of modern Europe – military occupation, and penetrations in political, economic and cultural sectors
- 2) A brief presentation (*a'rd sri3*) on European colonial expansion on the East

Chapter 8: Peoples' vigilance against European colonialism -----242

- 1) The Influence of colonialism in weakening peoples' spirits, economies, and political and military structures
- 2) The response and stoke of spirit of nationalism amongst colonized peoples
- 3) A Brief presentation of the most important national liberation movements against European colonialism (Egypt, Arab countries, India, and Indonesia)

The table of contents, therefore, clearly shows that the Egyptian textbook portrayed the history of the world since the fifteenth century as essentially a history of Europe, as had done the Chinese and South Korean textbooks.

From the structures and the general narratives of all of the textbooks described above, it is noteworthy that periodization for all three textbooks was defined based on European history. This reflects the textbooks' adoption of European model of historical periodization into ancient, medieval and modern eras, which presupposes teleological historical progress modeled on European history.⁹³ In separating history into ancient, modern and contemporary periods, the Chinese textbook characterized the modern era as a period of struggle of the international proletariat, as well as China's fight against imperialism and feudalism. Thus, for the Chinese textbook, "modern" period began with the European imperialism in the eighteenth century. Likewise, the South Korean world history textbook's section on "modern world" started

⁹³ See William A. Green, "Periodization in European and World History" *Journal of World History* 3, no.1 (1992): 41.

explicitly with the very description of the European Renaissance. On the very first page of this section, the textbook stated that the “West” (meaning Western Europe) led the development of world history in the modern period. Similarly, the Egyptian textbook *Origins of the Modern World* identified the starting point for the “modern world” itself as the onset of the European Renaissance.

Therefore, we notice a phenomenon that held true for all of the three textbooks. The sheer number of pages devoted to Europe, as well as the specific contents of European history that the textbooks focused on, demonstrate that Europe provided a model from which to derive universal principles for teleological historical progress. These concepts included the notion of class struggle leading to communism, democracy, freedom of thought, and nationalism. European history suggested a model for understanding the whole world history and the future paths of the other nation-states. Consequently, the textbooks adopted the European model of tripartite periodization for narrating world history.

The parts of the world other than Europe, on the other hand, were described as acting on the world stage set up by Europe. According to the tables of contents, Europe could represent a force to struggle against or an enlightening actor for the rest of the world. In either case, Europe was conceived as the single main player that shaped the histories of the peripheries. The Chinese history textbook secured different roles for two different parts of Europe; Western Europe instigated “the start of Chinese people’s struggles against the invasion of foreign capitalism,” while Russian history led to “the birth and dissemination of scientific communism.” The South Korean and Egyptian textbooks mainly focused on portraying the rise and expansion of Europe that extended its influence to the rest of the world. The former devoted a chapter to “[European] revival of sciences and discoveries in the world,” as well as “Modern Revolutions” that

elaborated on American Revolution, French Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution. Similarly, the latter focused on “Geographical discoveries and European colonialism,” “the growth of national movements in Europe,” and “Expansion of Europe’s power in the world.” Therefore, even as the narratives assumed autonomous histories of nation-states outside Europe, Europe came to embody *the* center of world history around which all others revolved.

Yet at the same time, the general narratives described above demonstrate that even as the three world history textbooks shared the similarity of accepting Europe as the standard for interpreting world history and the future of the others, their interpretations of European history carried emphasis and nuances that differed according to the narrating nation-state. Within the general framework of Eurocentric world history, the textbooks selectively focused on certain aspects and events of Europe that corresponded with the political and ideological orientations of the nation-state, which also decided the overall atmosphere for the domestic intellectual community. The following section investigates the political and ideological agendas of the nation-states that heavily influenced how the textbooks narrated history of the world, or Europe, as well as the textbooks’ positioning of the narrating nation-state in relation to Europe.

Pluralities of European History

Different ideologies that the states of Egypt, China and South Korea adopted as the basis for their new-founded regimes during the Cold War by and large determined the orientation of historical narratives produced regarding the world, and in particular, Europe. During the 1950s, whereas the Chinese regime ardently advocated for communism and socialism based on intimate ties with the Soviet Union, the South Korean state adhered to the U.S.-led campaign for political

democracy and modernization based on industrialization and capitalist economy. Egypt, on the other hand, attempted to realize socialist model of democracy, while aiming to advance Arab nationalism without belonging to either of the two camps. These geopolitical and ideological differences during the Cold War heavily influenced the direction for studying Eurocentric world history. This was because for these nation-states, world history was a device to reframe national history according to standard developments of the world, and also an evaluative measure to give a sense of where that particular nation-state was standing at and the direction it should head towards in the contemporary world.

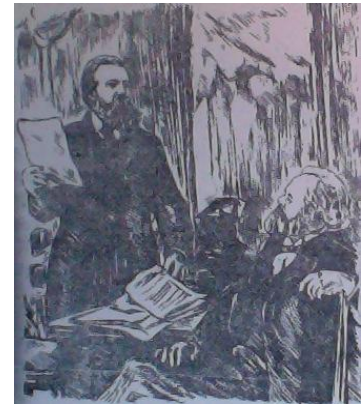
The history textbooks reflect the ideological and political frameworks that the three states endorsed for the nation, and the influence of such on the historical narratives concerning the world. Specifically, the Chinese textbook employed Marxist-Leninist interpretation of European history based on Soviet historiography,⁹⁴ and viewed Europe as having undergone the slave-feudal-capitalist-socialist stages of historical development that could be applied to the overall world, with an explicit anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-colonial rhetoric. The South Korean textbook, on the contrary, accentuated in a generally positive light the overall modernization processes that Europe had undergone, and European ideals of democracy, rationality, freedom, and sciences that contributed to the formation of modern Europe. In this narrative, Europe – an entity completely distinct from South Korea – was viewed as having realized the transformations that the whole humanity should aspire towards. The principles of democracy, rationality, freedom, sciences, and nationalism also received a heightened attention in the Egyptian textbook, especially in the narrative regarding the period after the seventeenth century. The Egyptian world history textbook, however, was distinct from both South Korean

⁹⁴ For an overview of historiography in the Soviet Union from imperial Russia to the present, and the utilization of historiography for political objectives by the Soviet Communist Party: Arup Banerji, *Writing History in the soviet Union: Making the Past Work* (New Delhi: Social Science Press, 2008).

and Chinese world history textbooks in belaboring on the major contributions that Arab Islamic civilization made to the crucial intellectual developments in Europe – thereby stressing the pivotal value of Arab Islamic intellects and sciences, at least until the Middle Ages.

History came to serve as the handmaiden of the Chinese Communist Party after its ascendancy to power in 1949, based on historical narratives that circulated in the Soviet Union.

As I mentioned in Chapter One, the CCP launched a campaign to overhaul and remold the overall society based on the principles of Leninist-Marxism. Elaborating on the need to Sinicize Marxism, Mao claimed that “Marxism must take on a national form before it can be applied.”⁹⁵ Abstract Marxism could only be complete when it was defined within a “concrete historical situation.”⁹⁶ Concrete situation, in this sense, meant the specific conditions of the Chinese nation. Thus, production of historical narratives in the post-1949 China also revolved around applying principles of Leninist-Marxism to the



An illustration of Marx and Engels together – identified as the two thinkers behind scientific socialism. *History*, p. 28 (second book)

Chinese context and thereby legitimatizing the Chinese Communist Party. The introduction of the Chinese history textbook *History*, for example, explicitly stated that Mao Zedong thoughts and the concept of class struggle formed the core of writing the textbook’s historical narrative.

As the Party utilized army and secret police to execute dissenters to the new state, historians who were not in lines with the version of history that the Party supported were persecuted, imprisoned or fled the country.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Nick Knight, “Mao ZeDong’s ‘Sinification’ of Marxism,” in *Mao Zedong and China’s Revolutions*, ed. Timothy Cheek. (Boston: Bedford/St.Martins, 2002). 198.

⁹⁶ Nick Knight, *Mao ZeDong’s ‘Sinification’ of Marxism*. 201.

⁹⁷ Maurice Meisner, *Mao’s China and After: A History of the People’s Republic* (New York: Free Press, 1999). Dominic Sachsemaier, *Global Perspectives on Global History*, 186. Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, “Party Historiography,” in *Using the Past to Serve the Present: Historiography and Politics in Contemporary China*, ed. Jonathan Unger, (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1993), 151-73.

The Soviet Union had a powerful influence on these academic endeavors to write history. The adoption of Soviet model of history became a norm in explaining history of both China and the world. Whereas most historical works in the first half of the twentieth century were based primarily on Euro-American sources and scholarships, the emergence of the Chinese Communist Party as a victor dramatically changed the landscape of historical production. Geopolitical and international circumstances during the Cold War explain this impact. Not only did the two states formulate intimate ties ideologically and politically as a part of the socialist block – at least until the mid-1960s – but it was also necessary for China to create historical narratives that would legitimize its ties with the Soviet Union. The Soviet version of Marxist historiography, which viewed class relations and class struggle as the driving force of history, became the sole model for Chinese historians to learn from and to adopt.⁹⁸ A flood of Soviet works and sources on world history were translated into Chinese.⁹⁹ The socialist revolutions of the Soviet Union became a representation of victory of socialism, which the CCP could realize in China.

The process of structuring the Chinese nation according to the Maoist version of Leninist-Marxism signified a radical break from the Chinese past based on traditional Confucian ideals. Intellectuals' attacks on Chinese traditions had begun a few decades earlier than 1949, as they sensed the urgency to respond to a series of internal and external threats to the nation, such as the disheveled social and political situation in the late Qing period and the loss of Sino-Japanese War in 1895.¹⁰⁰ The establishment and consolidation of the People's Republic of China, however, not only intensified a denial of the traditional ideals as the basis for organizing society but also officially imposed completely new political, ideological and economic frameworks

⁹⁸ Xu Luo, "The Rise of World History Studies in Twentieth-Century China," *History Compass* 8, no. 8 (2010): 781-782.

⁹⁹ Dorothea Martin, *The Making of a Sino-Marxist Worldview*, 22-23. Also refer to Chapter One for the influence of the Soviet historiography on history writing in China.

¹⁰⁰ Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After*. 3-30.

based on Marxist terms. Marxist interpretation of history focuses on material conditions as the driving force of history; economic conditions (productive forces and relations of production) form the basis for the society, while culture, politics and institutions are manifestations of the material conditions. Accordingly, the previous interpretation of the past that had focused on the virtue of the emperors, the Confucius scholar-officials and their philosophies witnessed a major transformation.

The history textbook's narrative on Europe reflected the Party's efforts to instill its guiding ideology in students. All throughout explaining the history of Europe, the Chinese textbook portrayed peasant uprisings and class struggle as the force driving history. Following this Marxist narrative, Europe underwent feudal, capitalist, and imperialist stages of development. According to the textbook, feudalism in Western Europe emerged with the Franks' incursion into the West Roman Empire in the fifth century AD, as King Clovis redistributed the former slave-owners' lands to his personal army.¹⁰¹ Under the self-sufficient feudal system, although the serfs' living conditions were a little better than those of ancient slaves, they still suffered from harsh working and living conditions, regarded as "cows without hands."¹⁰² Europe in the ninth century, however, witnessed continuous peasant uprisings. Accordingly, the landlords had no choice but to "reduce their exploitation of the serfs a little."¹⁰³ The improvement in living conditions then allowed the development of handicraft production. The betterment in production technology and diversification of handicrafts, in turn, led to the creation of commercial centers that developed into cities. As these cities expanded on the lands of the lords, it was usual to see the struggle between city and feudal lords in the twelfth century Europe. Through these continuous struggles that went on for about a hundred years, many of the cities gained independence and people inside

¹⁰¹ *History* (历史 *lishi*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Jiayu Chubanshe, 1960), 1st book, 26.

¹⁰² *History*, 1st book, 8.

¹⁰³ *History*, 1st book, 29.

the cities became free men. As there emerged rich merchants within the cities, craftsmen launched their struggle against them, thereby acquiring partial rights. Therefore, the textbook viewed peasants' struggles and uprisings as driving forward the history of Europe from fifth to twelfth century.

Describing the history of Western Europe from twelfth century onwards, the textbook continued to identify the struggle of peasants and workers as having stimulated the formulation of a unified nation and a centralized authority; it was also the force that created conditions for disintegration of feudalism and emergence of capitalism. This was especially so in England. With the breakout of the Hundred Years War caused by the French King's desire to expand his land, the peasants had to suffer the landlords' cruel exploitation. The burdens of a long-lasting war fell upon the peasants. Citing examples of peasant uprisings in the fourteenth century, the textbook stated that "large-scale peasant uprisings seriously weakened feudal lords' power, thereby creating favorable conditions for strengthening royal power. By the fifteenth century, England also [as had France] gradually formed a unified nation state (*minzu guojia*)."¹⁰⁴

In addition to the apparent Marxist interpretation of European history, efforts to create the link between the Soviet Union and China based on socialism saturated the Chinese textbook. In the textbook's elaboration on the history of the world in the nineteenth century, Russia entered into the picture of the world as a noble realizer of scientific socialism. The struggle of the proletariat had been ongoing throughout this period in Europe, as demonstrated by the Chartist movement in 1836 and establishment of the Paris Commune by workers in France in 1848. Nevertheless, the workers' efforts during this period were bound to fail due to the absence of "its own party leadership...[and] the theory of scientific communism that could lead the

¹⁰⁴ *History*, 1st book, 33.

revolution.”¹⁰⁵ The revolutions in 1905 and 1917 in Russia were depicted as victories of socialism, and also as stimulators for national independence movements in Asia and Africa. In terms of World War I, Russia was the only country that aimed to oppose imperialism; mighty (*weida*) October Revolution impeded the military operation (*junxian*) of imperialism and achieved glorious victory. The whole world turned towards the new era of socialism.

Contrary to history writing in China that clearly advocated communism and socialism, a major aim of the South Korean academia was precisely to combat communism and colonial legacies based on nationalist overtones.¹⁰⁶ That anti-communist agenda characterized overall intellectual arena of South Korea during the years immediately following the Korean War is understandable, considering the position of South Korea on the other end of the political spectrum during the Cold War, as opposed to China, the Soviet Union and North Korea. In addition to anti-communist agenda, with the end of Japanese colonialism in 1945 and of the Korean War in 1953, writing history in South Korea was geared towards eradicating traces of Japanese colonialism. Educating a unified and unifying Korean language in place of Japanese characters, for example, became a central focus of Korean language education. During the first decades after the liberation, historians focused on countering historical narratives disseminated during the colonial era. Colonial historiography had emphasized the backwardness and static nature of Chosun Dynasty (which lasted until the end of the 19th century), thereby positing Japanese colonialism as a necessary factor for Korea to modernize and develop. While such

¹⁰⁵ *History*, 2nd book, 24

¹⁰⁶ Man-yeol Lee, “The Flow of Korean Contemporary History and its Driving Force.” in *New Understanding of Korean Contemporary History 6: the flow of contemporary history, and Korean contemporary history*(*한국현대사의 재인식 6 현대사의 흐름과 한국현대사*), ed. The Institute of Contemporary Korean History, Academy of Korean Studies. (Orum, 1998) 99-102.

narratives continued until the first half of the 1950s, historians afterwards directed their research towards finding sprouts of capitalism and modernization prior to Japanese intervention.¹⁰⁷

The abovementioned focus on proving the existence of nascent capitalism highlights how South Korean national history was reframed according to the European model of historical development based on factors such as capitalism, democracy and scientific progress. Such efforts betray the assumption that entering the capitalist mode of economy, as Europe had undergone, was essential for modernization and development of the nation. It is important to note that the South Korean campaign for political democracy and industrial capitalism also implicitly decided the direction of Eurocentric world history studies in South Korea. Eurocentric world history in East Asia in general was “promoted to accelerate the historical process of industrialization, political democracy and nation building.”¹⁰⁸ The same held true for South Korea. As had been the case in China, studying world history was to serve the purpose the South Korean nation, which purportedly faced the grave task of realizing democracy and modernizing the nation in the postcolonial, post-war period. Essentially, studying the history of the world carried the purpose of learning the model for national modernization.

Thus different from the Chinese textbook’s Eurocentric world history, the South Korean textbook focused on the development of citizenry, capitalism, industrialization, democracy and nationalism, scientific advances, as well as social and cultural aspects such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, Enlightenment, and “Western Culture in the nineteenth century.” These were important factors that led to the modernization of Europe. Events in Russia, dealt extensively in the Chinese textbook’s account of world history, received almost no attention. Instead, it

¹⁰⁷ Hae-dong Yun, *Twilight of Modern Historiography* (근대역사학의 황혼), (Soul-si: Chaek kwa Hamkke, 2010).
Jie-Hyun Lim, *World History as a Nationalist Rationale*, Unpublished manuscript, 2011

¹⁰⁸ Jie-Hyun Lim, *World History as a Nationalist Rationale*, Unpublished manuscript, 2011.

identified the capability of the bourgeois class, freedom of the citizenry, and political and technological revolutions that transformed the society as factors shaping the modern world.

Distinguishing between several periods within the modern era, the textbook stated:

...14th to 16th centuries can be seen as the formative period for the modern world. On the one hand, the medieval society underwent disintegration. On the other, new atmosphere and conditions conducive to modernization matured...During the 17th and 18th centuries, under the rule of absolutism, the basis for modern powers was established. Simultaneously, the capability of the bourgeois class – the force that actively led the development of modern society – was getting ready to be enhanced. Sciences and tachnoculture, which provided the impetus for Western supremacy, were formulated. In the 19th century...the civil society experienced an evident victory through revolutions in political, social and economic spheres. Democracy, the principle for freedom of the citizenry, and nationalism, principle for modern nations, were achieved...¹⁰⁹

Conditions that prepared Europe for modernization were centralized “rule of absolutism,” subsequent development of civil society following “revolutions in political, social, and economic spheres,” and realization of democracy, freedom and nationalism as working principles for modern nations. Simultaneously, “sciences and tachnoculture” drove “Western,” or European supremacy across the globe. Thus, gradual expansion of states’ power, political democracy, and nationalism characterized Europe’s modernization process.

Furthermore, the textbook deemed economic transformation into capitalistic and industrial structure to be central in the development of European history, and thus, in shaping the world. As it elaborated on the factors that enabled the Industrial Revolution in England, the textbook cited several factors that set the stage: active participation by the citizenry, the development of commerce and industry, accumulation of capital, and provision of personal freedom due to democratic political revolutions. Provision of raw materials from colonies also aided the process.¹¹⁰ According to the textbook, the Industrial Revolution represented “the

¹⁰⁹ Seong-geun Kim, *World History (sae-gye-sa 새세계사)* (Seoul: Kyo-Woo-Sa, 1956), 122.

¹¹⁰ *World History*, 185

victory of free economy” that broke the constraints of absolute feudalism. The textbook further highlighted how an individual could now freely exercise his creativity and abilities in the economic sphere; “capitalism now define[d] this new era.”¹¹¹ Therefore, industrial capitalism, democratic freedom and political system, and nationalism defined the new modern era.

In between explanations about these transformations, the South Korean textbook explained at length about the sciences, culture, intellectuals, and ideologies of the Renaissance and onwards in Europe. The South Korean textbook did elaborate on the history of Europe prior to the modern period, stressing the noble humanistic traditions of ancient Greece that provided the basis for Western civilization in the later periods.¹¹² After characterizing the medieval Europe as religious and static in terms of cultural and civilizational development, the textbook returned to the achievements of the Renaissance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The image on the right demonstrates a page taken from the textbook that



Illustrations of Mona Lisa, Leonardo da Vinci, and Raphael's Madonna. *World History*. World History, 135.

explained the Renaissance arts. Images of Leonardo da Vinci, Mona Lisa, and Raphael's Madonna were cited as examples of Renaissance arts. The textbook mentioned such fine works of arts as an illustration of flourishing culture based on humanistic traditions that the Renaissance brought. The achievements of Renaissance also included the religious Reformation, as well as revival of sciences. The heliocentric theory by Copernicus and improvements in printing technology, and in devising compass and gunpowder demonstrated these developments.¹¹³

¹¹¹ *World History*, 187

¹¹² *World History*, 42.

¹¹³ *World History*, 138.

The focus on sciences, culture and ideas of modern Europe, completely absent in the Chinese history textbook, continued in the textbook's description of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As the Renaissance set free the restraints of Christianity, academics of Europe witnessed major progress. The South Korean world history textbook introduced intellectuals such as Francis Bacon, Descartes, Hobbs and Locke, and also literatures of Shakespeare, Milton, and Goethe. The Enlightenment ideals based on rationality, such as those of Grotius, Adam Smith, Voltaire, and Rousseau, received detailed attention. This demonstrates that the South Korean textbook viewed scientific and cultural richness based on humanities and rationality as an important factor for guiding the progress of Europe, rather than class struggle or peasants' uprisings.

Even though it is difficult to prove the precise intention of the textbook writers, these differences in narratives are closely connected with the particular nation-state's general political and intellectual climates. We have seen that while the Chinese history textbook perceived European history mainly in terms of peasant rebellions and the exploitation of the weaker class by the dominant class, the South Korean world history textbook emphasized the modernization process that Europe underwent by means of political, economic, religious, scientific and technological transformations. The South Korean textbook also paid a considerable amount of attention on European intellectuals, arts and culture. On the contrary, other than explaining the impact of class struggle on triggering and expanding political and economic changes, the Chinese textbook did not devote any section to the social, ideological or cultural aspects of European history. This demonstrates that the Chinese textbook focused on extracting Marxist principle of historical progress from Western Europe and model for socialism and communism from Russia. The South Korean textbook, on the other hand, followed the general trend of South

Korea at the time that propagated modernization in terms of political democracy, industrialization and implementation of capitalism.

The two textbooks' difference in explaining the French Revolution illustrates their contrasting attitudes very clearly. The Chinese history textbook described the French Revolution as the bourgeois' usurpation of what the peasants achieved. Crowd of people protested against the feudal system in 1789 and realized victory; nevertheless, the bourgeois seized control, and under the slogan of "human rights," "freedom," and "equality," strengthened their own positions. The bourgeois' property rights could not be interfered, and the constitutions that they composed forbid those without wealth from exercising voting rights.¹¹⁴ On the contrary, the South Korean history textbook praised the French Revolution as having established the idea of freedom of the citizenry. According to the South Korean textbook, although the French Revolution was not successful at completely realizing freedom and equality, it debilitated the former system and eradicated the privileged rights of the aristocrats and the clergy. The Revolution "opened the wide way towards democracy, the basic principle of contemporary politics."¹¹⁵ Although assessing different interpretations of the French Revolution is not a purpose of this chapter, the narratives on the French Revolution shows the textbooks' dissimilar focus in viewing the same major historical event in Western Europe. Whereas the Chinese textbook stressed the role of peasants, class conflicts, and the bourgeois' hypocritical and illegitimate attitudes geared towards protecting its own interests, the South Korean textbook hailed the ideas of freedom and equality that the Revolution supposedly achieved.

¹¹⁴ *History* 2nd book, 7.

¹¹⁵ *World History*, 179.

History writing and political ideology in Egypt during the early years after the July Revolution – led by Nasser and other Free Officers – displayed less clear-cut characteristics towards an ideology or development model that belonged to a particular international camp, as compared to China or South Korea. Jack Crabbs, a historian of Egyptian historiography in the twentieth century, explained that crucial terms such as revolution, socialism, Islam, historical revisionism, objective literary criticism could be discussed with relative freedom; Egypt was “fortunate in never having had a Marx, a Lenin, or a Mao to provide immutable definition of these terms.” According to Crabbs, even though the Revolution certainly left some imprint on Egyptian society and culture, there is a considerable doubt on the claim that the Revolution ever tried to impose “any monolithic uniformity on Egyptian historiography or cultural activity.” Egypt’s intellectuals, combined with such hesitancy, resulted “at best in certain pronounced tendencies.”¹¹⁶ Politically, Nasserism was rather an “eclectic amalgam of ideas”¹¹⁷ that was applied in a haphazard way, shifting between Egyptian nationalism, pan-Arabism and Arab socialism at different time periods. Indeed, even though the military overthrow of the monarchy represented a radical break from the past, intellectuals and politicians of Egypt after the Revolution do not seem to have endorsed a set of clear, internationally recognized principles towards the “West” or the Soviet Union that marked a sharp contrast from the past, as had been the case in China or South Korea. Rather, the Nasser regime pronounced neutralist, non-alliance foreign policy that shifted between cooperating with the Soviet Union and the United States.

Such murky character of Nasserism, along with a lack of previous research on Egyptian intellectuals’ world history studies and European history in the twentieth century, makes it

¹¹⁶ Jack Crabbs, “Politics, History, and Culture in Nasser’s Egypt” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6, no. 4 (October 1975): 413.

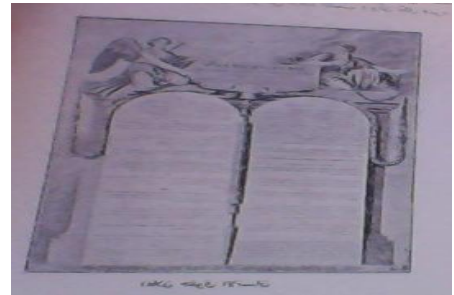
¹¹⁷ Podeh and Winckler, Rethinking Nasserism, 25.

difficult to demonstrate with certainty the link between the dominant political and ideological discourses with narrative of the world history textbook. Nevertheless, examining the overall rhetoric of Nasser on political ideals and history of Egypt and the rest of the world, as well as the general atmosphere of Egyptian intellectuals towards Europe at the turn of the twentieth century – which continued to influence the Egyptian society after the military Revolution –reveals that the intellectual and political atmospheres doubtlessly influenced the world history textbook's characterization of Europe to a large extent. Specifically, the Egyptian world history textbook reflected the tension between admiration at European intellectual, political and scientific advances and the simultaneous efforts to maintain Arab Islamic identity.

The Egyptian world history textbook's narrative on Europe, especially that which concerns the period after the seventeenth century, resonates with the South Korean textbook's portrayal of modern Europe, as both textbooks praised European sciences and principles of democracy, nationalism and freedom as achieved in Europe. The world history textbook framed its narrative on Europe so as to appreciate democracy as a universally viable ideal, although in the context of Egypt, the military regime supposedly served as the protector of the people. The introduction to the world history textbook, for example, explicitly stated that the aim of the textbook's historical overview was to imbue the pupil's mind "with the right principles of freedom, democracy, and nationalism – and to [let him] support these principles, and hate colonialism, subjugation and tyranny. [He would then] remain an adequate citizen, and appreciate the nation." Subsequently, in the fourth chapter titled "the Revolutions of the People against Absolutism, and the Spread of the Parliamentary System," the textbook explained at length about the Magna Carta, the Kings of the Tudor England, the American Revolution, and in this context, the French Revolution.

Explaining the influence of philosophies of Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau in letting the French people realize the political, economic and social injustices of their country, the Egyptian world history textbook stated:

And... we ask: why did the Revolution occur in France, and not occur, for example, in Russia? The answer is that the system in itself does not generate revolutions...as long as the people are ignorant of and does not feel the malady of their situation...Sensing injustice is what generates revolutions. [This happens] after the improvement of people's physical and literary conditions, which lets them feel the injustice and that falls upon them.¹¹⁸



The Declaration of Human Rights. *Origins of the Modern world*, 132.

The textbook proceeded to explain the achievements of the French Revolution, such as the Declaration of Human Rights, and the establishment of the National Assembly. The contents in the introduction the description of the French Revolution, along with chapters on “the Industrial Revolution” and “the Growth of national movements in Europe,” show that for the Egyptian world history textbook, Europe represented realizer of democracy, freedom, nationalism and sciences that could be realized elsewhere.

Despite the Egyptian textbook's rhetoric similar to that of South Korean in describing Europe, however, it is important to recognize that these textbooks interpreted the initial rise of Europe with different viewpoints and emphasis, according to the dominant intellectual and political atmosphere of the narrating nation-state. To illustrate, the Egyptian textbook extensively highlighted the role of the Islamic civilization and intellectuals in enabling Europe to flourish during the Renaissance. In fact, the South Korean world history textbook also mentioned, albeit

¹¹⁸ Muhammad Abdel Rahim Mustafa and Muhammad Ahmed Hasoona. *Origins of the Modern World (wusul al-3lm al-hadith; أصول العالم الحديث)*. (Cairo: Ministry of Education, 1957), 126.

in one line, the contribution of the “Orient” to the European philosophies and sciences. Yet whereas the narrative of the South Korean textbook described advancement of European philosophies and sciences as a phenomenon exclusive to Europe – with Europe apparently taking the active role –the same phenomenon became a history of Arab Islamic civilization that Europe essentially borrowed from. Within the discourse of the Egyptian world history textbook, the Arab Islamic civilization *allowed* the European Renaissance, which prompted the subsequent developments in philosophy and sciences that led to European dominance in the modern era.

The textbook’s emphasis on events in European history that exemplified triumph of freedom, democracy, nationalism and sciences, and the simultaneous stress on the impact of the Arab Islamic civilization on European history reflect the efforts in the intellectual and political arenas to preserve the Arab Islamic traditions amidst the modernization process based on the example of Europe. Major intellectuals from the Arab Islamic world from the nineteenth century onwards attempted to reconcile the Islamic traditions with the European ideals and practices. The Muslim intellectuals during the nineteenth century in general believed in the merit of European technology and ideals and the need to apply them to the Islamic world, while at the same time emphasizing Arab, Islamic origin of European advances and cautioning against blind imitation of European institutions and ideas.

A number of prominent Egyptian intellectuals epitomize this line of thought. For example, Rifa’ al-Tahtawi (1801-73) – an influential Egyptian scholar who studied abroad at Paris as a part of the state-supported program – not only composed a publication about his stay in Paris but also believed that France and Europe stood for “science and material progress” which Egypt

must adopt.¹¹⁹ The later intellectuals of the late nineteenth century such as Muhammad ‘Abduh also believed in the necessity of learning “useful arts of Europe” and social morality that the Islamic civilization once possessed in its greatest days but lost as it decayed.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, within such rhetoric, the intellectuals were at the same time careful to preserve Islamic, Arab identity. Rifa’ al-Tahtawi, while praising European advances, also believed that its science and material progress had actually originated from the Arabs. Similarly, Muhammad ‘Abduh aimed to show that Islam in itself contained social science and moral code for the basis of life, and that it could serve as principles of both change and restraint. In the process, *ulama*’ had to teach the real Islam and reinforce Arabic language.¹²¹

An examination of Nasser’s *The Philosophy of the Revolution* reveals that the rhetoric of both European Enlightenment and Islamic identity continued to mold his historical perspective, amidst his contemporary nationalist, anti-imperialist and anti-colonial political propaganda. Presenting an overview of Egyptian history, Nasser stated:

..And then what happened to us after the Mamelukes? The French expedition came and smashed the iron curtains which the Mongols had erected around us. New ideas flowed in, and new horizons opened up before us, of which we had been unaware....Thus our contact with Europe and with the whole world began anew. And thus the modern reawakening began... We had been living in isolation, cut off from the rest of the world... Then, suddenly we were coveted by the countries of Europe, since we became for them the bridge to be crossed for their colonies in the east and the south... Waves of thoughts and ideas came over us while we were not yet developed enough to evaluate them. We were still living mentally in the captivity of the 13th century... Our minds tried to catch up with the caravan of human progress, although we were five centuries more behind.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 90.

¹²⁰ Ibid. 114-5.

¹²¹ Ibid. 139-40

¹²² Gamal Abdel Nasser, *The Philosophy of the Revolution*, (Cairo: Government Printing Offices, 1954) (introduced by Dorothy Thompson), 66-68.

Nasser's rhetoric assumes the "reawakening" of Egypt due to the French invasion in the late eighteenth century; "waves of thoughts and ideas" that rushed forth to Egypt afterwards represented "human progress" that Egypt now had to "catch up." Even though the Nasser regime's attitude towards the different political blocks during the Cold War may not have been straightforward, Europe as a modernizing force and the forerunner of universal progress was taken without criticism, as had been the case in the nineteenth century. Yet simultaneously, Nasser fully endorsed Islamic traditions and Arab unity, with Egypt at the center. Nasser stressed in the abovementioned book Egypt's destiny in playing a leading role in the three circles of Arab, Islamic and African communities.¹²³ Certainly, in the years after the July Revolution, Egypt emerged as the center of Arab nationalism and Nasser as the recognized leader of the Arab Nationalist Movement.¹²⁴

The tension between Europe as a representative of progress, and Arab Islamic identity and traditions, that continued from the nineteenth to the years after the Revolution manifested itself in the narrative of the Egyptian world history textbook. While representing Europe as the leader of world history and praising its sciences and ideals of democracy and freedom, the textbook was never reluctant to stress that such advances that Europe made originated from Arab Islamic traditions. Followed by a description on the Renaissance, which represented a transitional period between the Middle Ages to the modern era,¹²⁵ the textbook explained on the "the Influence of the East and the Islamic Civilization on the Renaissance." At the time when Europe was "drowned in the sea of ignorance" during the Middle Ages, it benefited from the civilization of the Arabs and the East, which "freed the minds of the humanity from heavy strains

¹²³ Ibid. 86-7

¹²⁴ Peter Mansfield, "Nasser and Nasserism," *International Journal* 28, no. 4: (1972), 675-66.

¹²⁵ *Origins of the Modern World*, 12.

that the Middle Ages imposed upon it, and widened the road for new thoughts.”¹²⁶ Europeans benefitted from migrating to Andalus to study Arab sciences, and also from the Crusades by coming into contact with the East. Such transfer of knowledge ultimately allowed Europe to achieve the Renaissance, first in Italy then elsewhere.

Thus within the framework of the Egyptian world history textbook, the most important factor that led to “the advancement of natural sciences” was precisely the influence of Islamic culture and civilization. Not only did the Europeans read the classical works such as that of Aristotle through books translated from Arabic to Latin, but also learned the scientific method of observation and experimentation from the Muslim scholars. Islamic scholars’ study of chemistry, such as that of “Jabr bin Hiyan,” “Abu Bakr al-razi” and “Ibn Sima” provided the foundation for modern chemistry. European intellectuals such as Priestley “benefited ... from the research and innovations of the Muslims,” which allowed him to acquire oxygen and separate different forms of gases.¹²⁷ In the describing the advances in medicine and anatomy, the textbook employed the similar rhetoric of accentuating works of Muslim scholars who preceded and transmitted their knowledge to the Europeans. Such portrayal reflects both the Eurocentric perspective on world history with a focus on European sciences, philosophies and ideals, and the emphasis on Islamic world that had been the preservers of the cradle of knowledge. The textbook thus implied that Islamic and European civilizations together shared the knowledge essential to the humanity, yet the former was able to retain it and transmit it back to the latter prior to the powerful European expansion.

¹²⁶ *Origins of the Modern World*, 17-8.

¹²⁷ *Origins of the Modern World*, 97.

According to the historical narrative thus explained, while the Chinese history textbook focused on Europe from the Sino-Marxist perspective of class struggle and peasant rebellions, the South Korean textbook paid a much more attention to modernization of Europe based on democracy, industrial capitalism and nationalism. It also emphasized sciences, culture and ideals of modern Europe as the conditions that led to important transformations in Europe. It is hard to deny that the differing ideologies that the Chinese and South Korean regimes adopted and the international camps that they belonged to exerted a heavy influence on the intellectual trend of the times. It was a necessity for China to pursue a Marxist interpretation of history according to the Chinese context, in order to legitimize the Party's ascendancy to power. On the other hand, South Korea as a part of pro-democratic, capitalistic block under the umbrella of the United States adhered to such line of thought in its academic activities. Lastly, while the Egyptian textbook stressed the value of the achievements in Europe as a result of political, intellectual and scientific advances, it accentuated at length the contribution of the Arab Islamic civilization to the rise of Europe during the Renaissance. Despite the ambiguity of the Nasser regime's stances on a particular international block, its efforts to uphold the fundamental ideal of democracy and at the same time accentuate Egypt's role as the center of the Arab Islamic world were manifest in the world history textbook's attitude toward Europe.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the three textbooks' portrayals of world history. Evidently, the narratives adopted a Eurocentric view of the world that has characterized history writing for more than a century. For all of the textbooks, European history became the universal model from which to understand historical progress of the whole world. Concepts such as class struggle, communism, democracy, capitalism, and freedom of thought were described as having been first

achieved in Europe. The rest of the world had to follow suit in order to be on par with the advanced Europe. In short, according to the textbooks' narratives, Europe defined and dominated the modern history of the world. At the same time, Europe did not represent a monolithic entity with a single image. The textbooks perceived Europe with different attitudes and focuses. The geopolitical contexts, transnational alliances and nationalist political ideologies largely shaped the textbooks' dissimilar orientations regarding European history.

The textbooks' Eurocentric descriptions of world history raise a set of questions. Within the world stage set up and dominated by Europe, how did the non-European nation-states into play? In other words, how did the narrating nation-state perceive its national identity, and how was the pride of the nation to be preserved at the face of European expansion? We have seen that the textbooks' interpretations of Europe differed according to the nation-state's specific ideological and political stance. Did such nationalist agenda also influence each textbook's perception of national history? We turn to these questions in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

The Nation within the World

Introduction

Scholars for the past century have paid an increasing attention to the process of nation building as a political project. Benedict Anderson, for example, aroused heated reactions as he defined the nation as “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”¹²⁸ He explained that the members of the nation, without ever having met the fellow members of the nation, share in their minds “the image of their communion,” conceiving the nation as a “deep, horizontal comradeship” despite the actual inequality and exploitation existent within the nation. Anderson viewed the nation as modern construct based on the development of print capitalism and the will of the elite to strengthen its positions, rather than a natural transformation of the community that had shared the same culture, language and sentiments.¹²⁹

Despite the difficulty – or near impossibility – involved with tracing the origin of nationalism, there is no doubt that many societies since the turn of the twentieth century have had to reconfigure their previous understanding of the past, traditions and culture in order to fit themselves within the framework of the nation and transmit such interpretation to the citizens. The necessity of creating an imagined community determined the framework for writing world and national histories, as well as history textbooks. Being a nation meant having finite territorial borders with a central authority, with the inhabitants within the nation sharing a memory of a common past as well as substantial similarities – be it language, culture, traditions, religion, or ethnicity. As the end of the World War II further solidified international order and national

¹²⁸Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (London, New York: Verso, 1983), 6.

¹²⁹ For a thorough theoretical analysis of historiographical debates about ethnicity and nationalism: Anthony Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2000).

territorial boundaries, the nation-states that had recently gained independence experienced greater urgency to reinterpret the past based on the nationalist framework.

Thus, as I have continuously stressed throughout the thesis, the newly established states of South Korea, China and Egypt at the start of the Cold War faced the similar challenge of writing national histories that could strengthen the sense of national unity, identity and pride, and justify the ascendancy of the respective political regimes to power. In the process, the three states had simultaneously to interpret European domination over the rest of the world, as well as their supposedly humiliating experiences of colonialism and imperialism that hindered their national prides. Therefore, three nation-states shared the broad global context that necessitated formulating national historical narratives that incorporated their colonial experiences.

At the same time, each nation-state confronted challenges particular to the local national circumstances in constructing national historical narratives. Specifically, South Korea, an official adherent of democracy, capitalism and industrialization under the influence of the United States, had to narrate a shared national past passed down from antiquity, while simultaneously explaining the division of the nation and the existence of the communist North Korea right next to its border. China, belonging to the communist block, strived to reinterpret its national past based on the transnational ideology of Marxist-Leninism. Egypt, pursuing its own path through Arab nationalism instead of either “Western” model of capitalism or Soviet communism, had to maintain Egyptian national identity in midst of the call for larger Arab, Islamic unity.

This chapter aims to investigate the elements that the textbooks identified as the essence of the nation, and the incorporation of encounters with the outsiders into national historical narratives that enabled the solidification of such distinctive nationhood. For this purpose, the

chapter is divided into three thematic parts: the permeation of local political and social contexts into the textbooks' portrayals of longstanding national identities, their treatments of European colonialism or imperialism as a focal connecting point between the nation and the world, and finally, the configuration of colonial experiences as a means to glorify the contemporary regimes. I argue that the textbooks' narratives emphasized homogeneous or predominant ethnicity, and linguistic, cultural national pride in order to create unified national identity, grounded on the principal political and ideological contexts in the respective nation-states during the early years of the Cold War. In this context, imperialism and colonialism became a connecting point between the nation and the rest of the world that stimulated the existent national identity. In other words, the textbooks portrayed world and national histories so as to formulate the image of the nation that had long remained as a distinctive, unified and autonomous being, which could come into the world stage through encounters with imperialism and colonialism. The respective regimes in power in turn represented forces that could completely eradicate remnants of imperialism and colonialism.

Therefore, I first examine the specific methods by which the national history textbooks utilized narratives that stressed dominant ethnicity and a shared cultural, linguistic past to accentuate enduring national unity and the legitimacy of the political regime. Within this similar framework, the textbooks identified different elements as the core of national identity, depending on the political and social contexts of the nation-states. I then move on to demonstrate the world history textbooks' shared perceptions of European imperialism as having served as a stimulant for creating an upsurge of national sentiments. The last section of the chapter explores the common narrative between the three textbooks in which the nationalist regimes became the necessary actors that could combat colonialism and imperialism for true national liberation.

Ethnicity and National Pride

The textbooks' definitions of nationhood relied largely on elements of national identity that the states selectively utilized according to political contexts at the time. The subsequent section investigates the textbooks' careful emphasis on what they perceived as a homogeneous or dominant ethnicity that formed the core of enduring national identities, their descriptions of national pride based on the national language and culture, and the political influence behind such narratives. Defining the term ethnicity would require an examination of countless literatures written on the topic. Instead, by ethnicity, I mean "a social identity (based on a contrast vis-à-vis others) characterized by metaphoric or fictive kinship,"¹³⁰ which may or may not overlap with the concept of race.

The South Korean textbook underscored the racial, cultural and linguistic homogeneity of the Korean nation, by which it means both North and South Korea, since antiquity. It heavily emphasized the traditions and culture of Korea as forming the core of the nation. The South Korean textbook utilized the term *minjok*, literally meaning a nation of one clan, to pound on the common ancestry, history, culture, and language of the Korean *minjok*. Even though the notion of *minjok* had existed from the late nineteenth century, the division of Korea following the liberation in 1945 intensified the need of the state to stress the homogeneous, immutable Korean nation. By doing so, national unification of Korea could be set as the state goal and thereby accentuate the legitimacy of the anti-communist South Korean regime.¹³¹ This echoes the

¹³⁰ Thomas Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (New York: Pluto Press, 2010), 17.

¹³¹ Choe Hyun, "National Identity and Citizenship in the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Korea" *Journal of Historical Sociology* 19, no.1: (March 2009), 95. Also Chanseung Park, *Minjok, Minjok Juei*, 112-113.

political idea that the Rhee Syngman regime endorsed that has been discussed in the first chapter – *Ilmin Chuui* (One people-ism; an ideology of one people), which stressed the unity of the Korean nation, democracy as appropriate to the South Korean context, and the urgency of combatting communism. As the last section of this chapter will further illustrate, this political context also permeated the narrative of the South Korean national history textbook, as it explained the acquisition of independence by the South Korean regime and extensively emphasized the necessity of national reunification of the Korean *minjok* against the forces of the illegitimate North Korean communist regime.

In reflection of the political rhetoric, the South Korean textbook explicitly assumed the homogeneity of the Korean *minjok* in terms of race, culture and language throughout an indefinite, but very long, period of time. On the very first page on primitive society and tribal states, the South Korean textbook narrated on the origin of the homogeneous Korean *minjok* and its spread in the contemporary territory of North and South Korea:

Long ago, our *minjok* gradually moved eastward and lived as scattered groups in the field of Manchuria. As our *minjok* searched for a better environment for living, [our ancestors] came to live inside the Korean peninsula.¹³²

The passage above highlights the textbook's narrative on the configuration of the idea of shared race as the absolute Korean national identity since "long ago." The textbook also noted the significance of the Tangun foundational myth, which narrates the marriage between a god and a bear that gave a birth to the King Tangun – the person believed to be the first ancestor of the Koreans who established the Korean nation.¹³³ The Tangun myth, the historicity of which the

¹³² Research Committee for History Education, *National History (gook-sa 국사)* (Seoul: Kyo-Woo-Sa, 1957), 8.

¹³³ *National History*, 17.

historians of both North and South Korea strive to prove till this day,¹³⁴ embodies the most conventional historical narrative of Korea that stresses the homogeneity of the Korean race.

The characteristics of a unified Korean *minjok* in the textbook's discourse were not limited to homogeneous race, but also included the common Korean language and culture that provided the basis for national pride. The textbook's description on the unification of the three separate states within the Korean peninsula in the seventh century by the Shilla Dynasty illustrates its focus on the Korean *minjok* as a fixed entity throughout history, that remained unified not only racially but also linguistically and culturally. The textbook accentuated how prior to the Shilla Dynasty, "our *minjok* had operated on different political units despite shared race, language and culture."¹³⁵ According to the textbook, the unification by Shilla thus represented both a political and ethnic unification that brought together the existing Korean population that had long shared a common heritage racially, linguistically and culturally.

The narrative about the foundation of Korean written script and scientific inventions in the fifteenth century, presented as sources of pride for the Korean nation, best captures the textbook's endorsement of unique Korean language and culture as defining features of the *minjok*. In its description of the King Sejong, one of the well-known kings of the Chosun Dynasty (dynasty that ruled the present Korea until the late nineteenth century) of the fifteenth century, the textbook accentuated his contribution "to the establishment of the culture of the Korean *minjok*."¹³⁶ The narrative especially stressed the promulgation of the Korean script, named *Hangeul*:

¹³⁴ Edward Wang, "Between Myth and History: the Construction of a National Past in Modern East Asia" in *Writing the Nation* ed. Stefan Berger, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 147-8.

¹³⁵ *National History*, 54.

¹³⁶ *National History*, 129.

...King Sejong promulgated the new *Hangeul* characters...after having realized that since every *minjok* (ethnicity?) has its distinctive characters that enables it to freely record its will, we would also need to develop a unique national language.¹³⁷

The textbook accentuated how that prior to the development of the written Korean script, the Koreans had to rely on Chinese characters. The distinctive, exclusive Korean national language *Hangeul* thus was interpreted as a source of national pride. Furthermore, the textbook emphasized a number of innovative inventions during the reign of King Sejong, who aroused the “scientific creativity, which is a characteristic of our *minjok*.”¹³⁸ The narrative highlighted that the rain gauge made of iron (1442), the most creative invention, preceded a similar development in the “West” by two centuries.¹³⁹ Following the textbook’s narrative, the Korean language and culture were thus crucial and glorious traits of the Korean *minjok*.



Pictures of scientific innovations during the fifteenth century. Left is a rain gauge, and on the right is sundial. *National History*, 132.

The textbook argued that the culture and traditions of the Korean *minjok* had to be maintained in the years to come. The conclusion of the South Korean world history textbook quoted below highlights evidently the stress on the necessity of the Korean *minjok* maintaining South Korean culture and traditions as the core of its national characteristics:

...with emancipation, our people now enjoys the freedom to actively participate in the main stage of world history. We also have the tradition of spiritual civilization that we can proudly present to the world. If we make efforts with strict adherence to a strong

¹³⁷ *National History*, 129

¹³⁸ *National History*, 132

¹³⁹ *National History*, 132

sense of sovereignty in history, we can become world-historic *minjok* and greatly contribute to the culture of humanity.¹⁴⁰

The traditions and civilization distinctive to Korea, which its distinctive and exclusive *minjok* created, therefore was to serve as its foundation on the global stage. Such narrative on the homogeneous ethnic group composing the whole nation, which established ground prominently during the first half of the twentieth century,¹⁴¹ largely received the influence of the political language that the nationalist regime of South Korea propagated.

In contrast to the South Korean textbook, the Chinese history textbook could not claim ethnic homogeneity of the Chinese people, as doing so would have meant forfeiting territories occupied more than fifty groups that were classified as ethnic minorities. This would also have meant the loss of the support that Chinese Communist Party had garnered amongst ethnic minorities prior to its ascendancy to power.¹⁴² The Chinese textbook, instead, emphasized the central role of the Han ethnicity (*hanzu*) in leading all the other minorities that together constituted a unified Chinese nation. This narrative described different ethnic groups as being united through the peasant class identity, which the Chinese Communist Party embodied. The Chinese textbook thus repeated in the most explicit form (as compared to the textbooks of South Korea or Egypt) the official state rhetoric that upheld multiethnic nature of the Chinese nation spearheaded by the dominant Han ethnicity – all of which could come together through class struggle under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party. Following



“Restored model for Chinese hominid.” on the front pages of the textbook. This image implies the existence of a unique ancestry for the Chinese people. *History*, v.

¹⁴⁰ *World History*, 287.

¹⁴¹ Chanseung Park, *Minjok, Minjok Juei*, 105-6.

¹⁴² David Deal, “the Question of Nationalities’ in Twentieth Century China,” *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 12, no. 3: (1984), 30, 42.

this discourse of the textbook, while Chinese language and culture also became a source of national pride, the idea of the peasant class as the essence of the nation provided the fundamental framework for interpreting such traditions.

The Chinese Communist Party, largely based on the Soviet model, embraced the notion of the Han ethnicity among a multi-ethnic Chinese population. According to the Party's classification, the Chinese nation consisted of the majority Han ethnicity with fifty-five other minority groups.¹⁴³ Such method reflected the efforts by the Party to uphold the model of Chinese national identity as an amalgam of different ethnic minorities that complemented yet were equivalent to the dominant Han ethnicity. The Chinese Communist Party posited itself as the “leader of all ethnic minorities” other than Han nationality – the group that the Chinese nationalists since the late nineteenth century identified as the absolute majority in China – which set an example for other groups in economic and cultural arenas.¹⁴⁴ By doing so, the Party aimed to present its national identity so as to satisfy the pressing need to hold onto the Tibet and Xinjiang areas – the western parts of the present China that frequently arouse disputes and violence until this day – and Taiwan, which the Party staunchly considered a part of the Chinese nation.

The historical narrative of the Chinese history textbook illustrates its adherence to the Party's official definition of the Chinese nation as an integrated state based on multiple ethnicities (with the Han Chinese as the major ethnic group), which could unite through shared struggle against the exploitive class, opposition towards the Qing Dynasty, and the leadership of

¹⁴³ For a detailed study on the Chinese Communist Party's project of ethnic categorization during the 1950s, and the theoretical application of the Soviet model of ethnic classification: Thomas Mullaney, *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011).

¹⁴⁴ Elena Barabantseva, “From the Language of Class to the Rhetoric of Development: Discourses of ‘Nationality’ and ‘Ethnicity in China’” *Journal of Contemporary China* 16, no. 56 (2008): 570-77.

the Chinese Communist Party. In this narrative, even as the Chinese textbook upheld the uniqueness of Chinese culture and language, it strikingly attacked the Confucian thoughts that had provided the basis for the Chinese society for several hundred years, in lines with the class-based interpretation of history.

The first mention of the Han ethnicity and ethnic minorities appeared under the subchapter “The first peasant rebellion and the Han Dynasty (206 BCE- 220 CE),” in the explanation of the relationship between the Han ethnicity and ethnic minorities. The textbook essentially emphasized the benefits that contacts with Han ethnicity granted to the ethnic minorities that had been residing in “[the areas that] are now Xinjiang and its vicinities.” It highlighted the cultural and economic exchange between the Han ethnicity and the ethnic minorities, and the Han ethnicity’s transmission of technology to the ethnic minorities with regards to forging well and casting iron. To the ethnic minorities, such interactions “had a very positive influence on their production industry.”¹⁴⁵ The textbook went further to state that:

Han Wudi (the emperor of the Han Dynasty) dispatched people to minority groups in the southwest part of China (meaning Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou and Tibet), and established local administrations there...The industrious labor by the ethnic minorities and the Han ethnicity developed the southwest area. The Han Dynasty was the world’s wealthiest and strongest country (*guojia*) in its age. This country was created by the Chinese ethnic minorities (*gezu renmin*) working together.¹⁴⁶

The narrative thus stressed both the pivotal role of the Han ethnicity in disseminating advanced technology amongst the ethnic minorities, and the cooperation amongst them as peasants and the working class that enabled the Han Dynasty to arise as a unified nation.

¹⁴⁵ *History*, 1st book, 50.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 51

The textbook's discussion of the history of Taiwan from the perspective of Han Chinese ethnicity and the working class demonstrates the clear penetration of political ideology and the language of peasantry class into the historical narrative of the nation. Around the time of the textbook's publication, the Chinese Nationalist Party that had lost its war against the Communist Party had already established an independent regime distinctive from the mainland government. In addressing the Taiwan issue, the textbook, first of all, emphasized that "Taiwan since antiquity has been our country's land. After the Three Kingdoms Period (220-280 AD), many Han ethnic people reached Taiwan, and developed Taiwan together with the indigenous Gaoshans." The narrative further elaborated on the additional migration of the Han people in the late seventeenth century, and their bestowment of advanced agricultural technologies to the indigenous people. Finally, the Qing Dynasty unified Taiwan in 1683, turning it into a Chinese "precious island, under the industrious labor of the people."¹⁴⁷ The Chinese textbook thus utilized the narratives of both Han ethnic national identity and peasant class solidarity to turn Taiwan into a part of the unified China since almost two thousand years ago.

As the Chinese textbook interpreted China's national history according to the Party's official ideology of Marxist-Leninism with an emphasis on the distinctiveness of the Chinese nation, it stressed the value of the unique Chinese culture and language, as had been the case with the South Korean national history textbook. In explaining about the first inscriptions of the Chinese language on bones, for example, the Chinese textbook emphasized that this kind of written language was "not only our country's precious cultural heritage, but also one of the earliest forms of written language in the world."¹⁴⁸ Along the similar lines, with regards to the arts of China, the textbook described that "arts of our country have longstanding traditions and

¹⁴⁷ *History*, 1st book, 96.

¹⁴⁸ *History*, 1st book, 23.

distinctive style, as our people have always had very rich artistic creative power.”¹⁴⁹ It is noticeable that the language of the explanations highlighted the distinctive Chinese language and culture as something that the Chinese nation as a whole could be proud of.

At the same time, it is important to note the significant break from the traditions that the Chinese Communist Party represented as it aimed to implement the Marxist-Leninist principles to the national context, which found resonance in the narrative of the history textbook. As I explained in Chapter Two, Confucianism had long served as the basis for the Chinese society since the Song Dynasty (960-1270 AD), with scholars of Confucian teachings constituting the governmental officials until the early twentieth century. In other words, Confucianism provided the basis for both organizing the state and deciding morality of personal conduct. Within the historical narrative based on class struggle and stages of development endorsed by the Chinese Communist Party, the Confucian traditions were dismissed:

Confucius opened a private school to pass down a new aspect of knowledge... But he had a disdain for labor and the laborers. When his students asked him to teach them how to plough, he said: “I don’t know, I’m not a peasant”...Majority of his students was from the ruling class. Thus majority of his teachings also used the method of the ruling class... [The books that he wrote] partially remained in the ancient culture.¹⁵⁰

Thus, even though the textbook stressed Chinese culture being at the forefront of all world cultures, and its “immense contribution to the world civilization (*wenhua*),”¹⁵¹ it judged the value of such traditions based on the actions of peasant class – the massive rebellions of which “[provided] the foundation...for all the prosperous dynasties in Chinese history.”¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 105.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 1st book, 23.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 114.

¹⁵² Ibid., 114.

On the other hand, the political ideology of the Nasser regime displayed less clear-cut characteristics as compared to that of the Chinese Communist Party during the 1950s. As I have noted in the first chapter, the Nasser regime eclectically used the ideas of Egyptian nationalism, Arab socialism, Arab nationalism, Afro-Asian unity, anti-colonialism, and anti-imperialism. Nevertheless, the Nasser regime certainly propagated Arab, Islamic identity that could in turn strengthen Egyptian nationalism. Historians in general agree that Nasser pragmatically stressed pan-regional identities of Arab unity and brotherhood in order ultimately to advance Egyptian national purposes.¹⁵³ At the same time, Nasser and the military elite had to appeal to the traditional attachment of Islamic heritage, using religious symbols to accommodate to the public sentiment.¹⁵⁴ In short, Arab Islamic identity formed the core of Egyptian national identity.

Therefore, in contrast to both South Korean and South Korean textbooks, the Egyptian textbook instead chose to identify Arabs – an identity spread across regions that transcend national boundaries – as the dominant ethnicity that carried with them the valued Arab language and Islam. Indigenous Egyptians were described as having intermixed with the Arabs both racially and culturally, while also having maintained their distinctiveness. The Arabic language, Islam, and the Islamic culture became defining values for Egyptian national identity. In this discourse, the minority ethnicities in Egypt of the Copts, Jews, Greeks, and Nubians were either described as having contributed to the Arab conquests or were completely excluded in the narrative. Arab identity and Islam thereby formed the core of Egyptian national identity, echoing the political campaign of Nasser's Arab nationalism with Egypt at its center.

¹⁵³ Jankowski, *Nasser's Egypt*; On the power of Egyptian nationalism in the political sphere (which ultimately subordinated Egyptian communist parties): Joel Beinin, *Was the Red Flag Flying There? Marxist Politics and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in Egypt and Israel, 1948-1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). On Egyptian supra-nationalism prior to the Nasser regime (1930-1945): Gershoni and Jankowski, *Redefining the Egyptian Nation*.

¹⁵⁴ George Masannat, "Nasser's Search for New Order" *The Muslim World* 56, no. 2: (1966), 88.

What did it exactly mean to be an “Arab,” which both the political discourse and the narrative of the history textbook stressed so extensively? The term not only indicated a particular race, but incorporated religious and linguistic identity. First and foremost, the Egyptian textbook presented Arabs as representatives of Islam. They were bearers of the sacred religion that enlightened Egypt, as well as the other parts of the Arab, Islamic world. The Egyptian textbook found a historical model for an Islamic, Arab nation in the formative years of Islam itself. In explaining the founding of the Islamic state (*dawla islamia*), which started the very first section of the textbook, it narrated:

After the Hijra that the Prophet had taken to Medina, the Islamic State began to emerge...[and] a small state (*dawla*) that history had not dreamt of (in terms of outpouring spirituality and the drive to move forward) was founded. And no one from the Sassanid or Byzantine Empires imagined at the time that this small state would grow and strengthen itself in the upcoming days, and become a threat to themselves after its unification of the Arabian peninsula. Nor [did anyone expect] that its people (*ahl*)’s hearts would be filled with zeal for the religion of Islam, and that the Arabs would be brought together for the first time in their long history. And this is what the Arabs felt themselves after the death of the Prophet in the eleventh year of hijra.¹⁵⁵

The Prophet’s pilgrimage to Medina and his founding of the Islamic state was a transformative event that completely changed the lives of the Arabs. Before the dawn of Islam, frequent wars and attacks amongst themselves weakened Arabs; slaves did not possess any rights; the poor resorted to infanticide of newborn females.¹⁵⁶ After the Prophet’s pilgrimage, however, “..fraternity, equality, justice...[and] sympathy on the poor spread amongst the Arab tribes, instead of disharmony, bragging, pride, drinking of alcohol, and flirtation...”¹⁵⁷ Thus, Islam

¹⁵⁵ Muhammad Mustafa Ziyada, *History of Islam and Islamic Egypt (tarikh al-Islam wa misr al-Islamiya تاريخ الاسلام و مصر الاسلامية)* (Cairo: Ministry of Education, 1958), 26.

¹⁵⁶ *History of Islam and Islamic Egypt*, 4-10.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

represented a savior of Arabs, who gradually expanded both their religion and an Arab state from their base in the Arabian peninsula.

Along with racial and religious identities, the textbook emphasized the linguistic component as a crucial part of “Arab” ethnicity. Under the title “Reasons for the Victory of Arabs against the two Farsi and Byzantine dynasties (*dawla*),” the textbook explained that the linguistic, racial (*jins*) and religious unity of Arab soldiers contributed to their victories. Their enemies, on the other hand, were composed of armies from various races (*ajnas*) races and several linguistic backgrounds. The textbook also stressed that the religious zeal (*hamaasa*) of the Arabs to protect their religion, as well as their patience and strength imposed by the environment of their countries, aided them in warfare.¹⁵⁸ The Arabic language, of all, was the sacred language of the Quran. Thus the term “Arab” embodied racial, Islamic and linguistic features that the regions under its influence shared.

In midst of the pan-regional Arab Islamic narrative, the textbook posited Egypt as a distinctive nation rescued by the Arab conquest. According to the textbook, the Arabs were “encouraged to conquer Egypt...as [they] heard its bad conditions and Egyptians’ discontent against the rule of the Byzantines.”¹⁵⁹ This was because the Byzantine Empire exploited the riches of Egypt for its own benefit, which prohibited the Egyptians from enjoying true prosperity. Not only did heavy taxes, but the Byzantine Empire’s persecution of Egyptian Christians who diverged from the Byzantine official religious doctrine, also led to the misery of the Egyptians.¹⁶⁰ On the contrary, ‘Amir ibn al-‘As, the Arab military commander, “secured the western borders

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 39.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 35

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 36

of Egypt with pacific and gentle conquests.”¹⁶¹ In sum, the textbook described Arab Islamic conquest of Egypt as an event that the Egyptians were more than willing to accept.

Consequently, the textbook’s narrative stressed the permeation of Arab Islamic racial, religious and linguistic elements into the Egyptian society, which strengthened Egypt as a whole. It highlighted that although only a small number of Arab Muslim soldiers (about 16,000) arrived at Egypt during the initial phase of the conquest, “this did not prevent the mixing of the conquerors and the people of the country (*ahl-al-balad*)”¹⁶² The narrative described the gradual and widespread mixing between the Arabs and the Egyptians, as some of the Arab soldiers settled down and married with Egyptians in the cities and the countryside – to the point that “it became difficult to distinguish in many cases the indigenous population from the Arab delegation to Egypt.”¹⁶³ At the same time, because the Arabs respected the people of the book (meaning Christians and Jews), the religion of Islam did not spread rapidly amongst the population of Egypt. Nevertheless, after several centuries, Egyptians converted to Islam for several reasons – among them “Egyptians’ conviction of soundness (*siha*) and integrity (*salama*) of Islam, desire to become a part of the ruling class..[and] alleged persecutions and hassles associated with following Christianity...”¹⁶⁴ Similarly, regarding the spread of the Arab language, the textbook accentuated:

The Arabic language succeeded in what neither the Latin nor the Greek languages achieved, the empires (Roman and Byzantine) of which ruled Egypt for several centuries. None of them could replace the Coptic Egyptian language; both remained to be used in administrations, official correspondences and regional communities...[following the order of the governor of Egypt] the documents and official correspondences were written

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 38

¹⁶² Ibid., 83

¹⁶³ Ibid., 84-5

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 85

in Arabic, besides Coptic. The Arabic language thereby spread to the deepest circles of Egypt.¹⁶⁵

Therefore, the textbook praised the Arabic language as common, unified language of Egypt as opposed to the previous languages that prevailed in Egypt. In addition, the narrative noted the people's desire to learn Arabic, as it was the language of the Quran. This, in turn, let the Egyptians develop strong cultural affinities with peoples of the neighboring regions who accepted Islam.¹⁶⁶ The Arab race, religion of Islam and the Arabic language thereby became the defining features of Egyptian national identity.

In this context, the ethnic groups other than Arabs were described as having contributed to the Arab victories or were completely marginalized. According to the textbook's description, indigenous Copts welcomed the Arab arrival and cooperated with them, after finding out that the Arabs would not mistreat their religion.¹⁶⁷ The ethnic groups of Nubians, Armenians and Greeks, which have been subjects of political debates and aroused conflicts within the Egyptian society, were completely ignored.¹⁶⁸

While the textbook identified such Arab Islamic identities as the core of the Egyptian nation, it also stressed Egypt's central role within the Islamic as a distinctive autonomous entity. Thus even as the transnational identities of religion and ethnicity based on a much broader region became the sources of national pride, nationalist interpretation of history still defined the framework of the narrative. Specifically, the textbook explained:

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 87.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 87

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 38

¹⁶⁸ For a discussion on distinctive Armenian ethnic identity in Egypt and the challenges they have faced since the turn of the twentieth century: Ara Sanjian, "The Armenian Minority Experience in the Modern Arab World" *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-faith Studies* 3, no.1: (2001).

The state (*wilaya*) of Egypt occupied an outstanding (*momtaza*) position in the Islamic Dynasty, due to the abundance of its fruits (*ghalat*), the talents of its population and its excellent geographical location... Since the time of Islam, Egypt became the first military base from which the Islamic soldiers exerted influence into North Africa, Nubia, and others to which the Islamic conquests extended... Egypt also became the naval base, and achieved victory against the Byzantines... and all of this was possible due to the Egyptians themselves who built the ships and worked in them.¹⁶⁹

The descriptions such as “talents of its population” and “excellent geographical location,” which allowed Egypt to become the military and center of the Islamic dynasties, show the textbook’s emphasis on the distinctiveness of the Egyptian nation and the characteristics of its people that played a crucial role in the expansion of Islamic dynasties. This narrative reflects the sense of pride for the features unique to Egypt and its people. In sum, the narrative of the Egyptian textbook endorsed the characteristics of Arab ethnicity – which accompanied religious, racial and linguistic features – as the core of Egyptian national identity. The role of the Egyptian nation in contributing to the prosperity of the Islamic dynasties, in turn, was accentuated.

Notably, while the textbooks of Egypt, China and South Korea similarly narrated histories of the nation – so as to stress longstanding national past, a unifying ethnicity of the nation, and pride for national culture and traditions – the political contexts of the nation states largely produced differing attitudes in writing the national past. The narrative of the Egyptian textbook echoed the language of the Nasser regime on Arab nationalism, Islamic community and Egyptian national pride. While it defined Egyptian national identity in Arab Islamic terms, the textbook still upheld the distinctive position of the Egyptian nation and its crucial contribution to the Islamic dynasties. The permeation of the nationalist political ideology in defining nationhood

¹⁶⁹ *History of Islam and Islamic Egypt*, 77.

was apparently more prominent in the case of China, as the Chinese Communist Party took a firm hold of all sectors of the society. As the Party enforced Marxist Leninist interpretation of history, the Chinese history textbook described the Party as the leader of various ethnic groups (led by the Han ethnicity) as well as interpreting national culture and traditions based on the language of the class. In this context, the Communist Party simultaneously came to embody the peasant class – which the last section of the chapter deals more closely with. The narrative of the South Korean textbook, by contrast, provided an account of its national history based on the concept of the homogeneous *minjok* and the unique culture it produced. Such narrative reflected the political emphasis of the Rhee regime on one-people ideology.

Imperialism and Colonialism, and the Nationhood

Amidst the nationalist interpretation of history that underscored characteristics of a particular ethnicity and national pride stemming from enduring history of the nation, the textbooks of the three nation-states portrayed imperialism and colonialism as a force that aroused national consciousness in the colonized parts of the world. Even though the narratives of the textbooks employed differing degrees of hostility and admiration in describing European colonialism and imperialism, it is necessary to note the significant similarity between the three narratives – namely, the identification of European imperialism as playing some role in stimulating national awareness owing to either struggles against foreign invasion, or the spread of European ideals of nationalism and freedom through the medium of imperialism. European imperialism thereby became a focal point where national histories coalesced with world history. For each nation-state, the following section first notes the different attitudes towards European

imperialism and colonialism that the textbooks displayed, and the influence of the political contexts in producing such differences. It then highlights the shared rhetoric towards its role in stirring national identity.

The different political ideologies that the three nation-states adopted largely shaped the textbooks' dissimilar attitudes on European imperialism. Largely because Korea had not experienced European colonialism, the South Korean textbook essentially repeated the European colonial rhetoric that viewed Europe as the active agent in spreading its influence and ideals to the "backward" part of the world, including Asia. European imperialism, despite its exploitations, represented a beacon of democracy, freedom and nationalism, which the South Korean regime officially endorsed wholly in the years after independence. Nationalist antagonism towards colonialism and imperialism in South Korea directed itself more explicitly towards Japan, the direct colonizer of Korea. European imperialism and colonialism instead represented an enlightening force that prepared its status as an independent nation, paramount to all the rest of the nation-states. On the other hand, the Chinese textbook turned European capitalism, colonialism and imperialism turned into a subject of abhor. The explicitly hostile rhetoric was consistent with the overall anti-capitalist, anti-imperial, anti-colonial political nationalist agenda based on Marxist-Leninist principles. China became a victim that had been colonized and exploited by European imperialism, an inevitable result of capitalism, but nevertheless endlessly strived to defeat it together as a nation. A combination of both the anti-imperial and the colonial rhetoric found resonance in the Egyptian world history textbook's description of European imperialism, as it emphasized both the oppressive nature of British colonialism in Egypt as well as the overall positive influence of imperialism in spreading European ideals. European

imperialism and colonialism for Egypt acted simultaneously as an exploitive power and as a catalyst for nationalism by spreading its ideals.

The South Korean textbook endeavored to narrate the spread of European colonialism and imperialism in a seemingly neutral manner. It provided two reasons for the initiation of imperialism: peak of nationalism in Europe, which did not account for the situations of “backward, weak nations,” and the rapid development of capitalism following the Industrial Revolution, which required colonies to serve as markets and providers of raw materials. The textbook went on to explain which European countries occupy which colonies. England, for example, established its imperial policy in 1874, which reached its peak during the times of Joseph Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes.¹⁷⁰ Therefore on the outset, the textbook refrained from making explicit value judgments about the spread of imperialism, as had been the case in China.

Yet as the description “backward, weak nations” reveals, the South Korean textbook employed an Orientalist, Eurocentric perspective that deemed imperialism as an enlightening force. A section that shows this attitude very prominently was one about the division of Africa. Stating that the imperialist states were most active in Africa, the textbook explained that Africa had been a “Dark Continent...most of which had been covered with deserts and jungles.” Until the nineteenth century, “only parts of Northern Africa and a portion of the South were pioneered by the white people.”¹⁷¹ This narrative reflects the colonial rhetoric that portrayed colonialism and imperialism as the necessary actors in benefiting the underdeveloped, undiscovered part of the world. The colonized areas thus became passive recipients of the European imperialist nation-states that more explicitly required colonial intervention.

¹⁷⁰ *World History*, 227.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 228.

The South Korean textbook further utilized the Eurocentric, Orientalist rhetoric as it elaborated on the influence of imperialism in stimulating nationalism in Asia and spreading democracy in this “backward” part of the world. Explaining on the impact of the World War II, the textbook pointed out its contribution to the liberation of “small and weak states in Asia.” According to the textbook’s narrative, through the two world wars, indigenous peoples experienced heightened self-awareness for nationalism. Furthermore, many parts of Asia witnessed the birth of independent nation-states, as America and England promised liberation of colonized nations. Due to the inherent backwardness of Asia, however, and divisions of the world following the war, complete independence and liberation were still distant.¹⁷² The textbook then gave one-paragraph-long descriptions on independence movements in the Middle East, India, Southeast Asia, and finally, South Korea itself. Therefore imperialism, although not necessarily legitimate, was a factor that led to nationalism and independence in the colonized part of the world.

While employing Enlightenment rhetoric in portraying European imperialism, the South Korean textbook vehemently criticized Japanese colonialism as a brutal and humiliating experience for the nation. Such narrative stressed the exclusive Korean national identity as opposed to outside forces, while confirming the validity of the South Korean regime. The textbook highlighted that the signing of the Japan-Korea annexation treaty in 1910 represented the start of “a history of disgrace, suffering, maltreatment and bitterness for the *minjok*.”¹⁷³ The passage below well demonstrates the textbook’s position toward Japanese colonialism:

...the livelihood of the *minjok* was truly dark and depressing. At the same time, they (the Japanese) economically exploited its colony Korea by all means. In short, they turned our

¹⁷² *World History*, 274.

¹⁷³ *National History*, 184.

nation into a market for capitalistic products, by buying raw materials from our nation at a cheap rate and selling the manufactured products at a high price. The economic conditions of our nation gradually deteriorated.¹⁷⁴

It is important to pay attention to the language of the narrative that posited “our nation” against the colonizers. An unambiguous colonizers versus colonized rhetoric, this narrative represents an explicitly nationalist, anti-colonial interpretation of history that characterized the regime’s political ideology and the intellectual endeavors of South Korea in the post-independence period. Thus, while the South Korean textbook portrayed European imperialism and colonialism as the illuminating force for the world, Japanese colonialism came to represent the completely unacceptable experience for the nation that exploited and exhausted Korea as a whole.

In sharp contrast, the Chinese textbook emphasized how European capitalism – consolidated by bourgeois revolutions such as the English Revolution and the French Revolution – led to extremely exploitive imperialism. European imperialism, which sought supply of labor and resources in colonies, also intruded China with the Opium War. The textbook thereby started drawing connections between the world and China in its second part, starting with the mid-nineteenth century. Prior to this period, China and the world existed as separate entities that followed similar stages of historical progress based on essentially same principles, at least in terms of development into feudal society. The textbook accentuated that in this new global order, China was forced to become a semi-colony, along with other nation-states in Asia and Africa due to “bloody” capitalism and European exploitive imperialism.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 190.

The Chinese textbook described dominance of capitalism, and the ensuing imperialism, as an attribute particular to Western Europe that caused the outbreak of the World War I.

According to the narrative, although both Europe and China experienced transformation from primitive to slavery-based, and then to feudal societies, only European countries witnessed the disintegration of feudalism and flourishing of capitalism. In turn, capitalism gave rise to imperialism, which prompted both colonialism and the breakout of then World War I, which resulted from the efforts of European capitalist countries to gain more colonies. All of the imperial states strived to dominate more colonies, and thereby accumulate wider economic resources, the tensions amongst themselves escalated. “It was inevitable that imperialism initiated war.”¹⁷⁵



“The Chinese military and people defeat the French military invaders.” *History 2nd* book, p. 88. This image shows the Chinese people trampling upon the French soldiers. It highlights the illegitimate intrusion of the French forces, and the Chinese people’s victory against it.

At the same time, however, the narrative emphasized that European intrusion into China acted as a stimulant for the Chinese national working class to protest against the threat of imperialism, which in turn generated and necessitated the action of the Chinese Communist Party. The conclusion of the world history textbook cited words of Mao Zedong: “Within the Chinese feudal society existed sprouts of capitalism. If it hadn’t been for the influence of foreign

¹⁷⁵ *History 2nd* book, 135.

capitalism, China would have gradually developed into a capitalist society. The intrusion of foreign capitalism accelerated this process.”¹⁷⁶ The textbook stressed that the purpose of the imperialist forces in China, however, was essentially to inhibit Chinese capitalism, thereby keeping it at a semi-feudal, semi-colonial state. Nevertheless, the Chinese people persistently struggled against this process, preventing China from falling prey to imperialism. The expansion of people’s power after the end of the World War I resulted in the formation of the Party of the proletariat – the Chinese Communist Party. Only under its leadership could China realize Marxist-Leninism (as walking the Western road of capitalism could not save China), and could the ethnicities within China be united to realize victory against imperialism and feudalism.¹⁷⁷ In sum, imperialism in a way was an essential factor in stimulating Chinese people’s struggle against a foreign threat, and also in legitimatizing the existence of the Chinese Communist Party. Thus the Chinese world history textbook displayed a highly complex attitude against European imperialism – a vehement criticism against it, but simultaneous implicit appreciation of it in the rise of the Chinese nationhood in the current form.

The narrative of the Egyptian history textbook on European imperialism and colonialism reflected both of the views expressed in the South Korean and Chinese textbooks. It pointed out the illegitimate and exploitive aspects of European colonialism in different parts of the world, including Egypt. At the same time, the textbook also noted the role of European imperialism in spreading ideals of nationalism and freedom, and stirring nationalism that had lied inherent in the peoples of the nation. Elaborating on the reasons for European colonialism, the textbook remarked that even though some of the European colonial states claimed to be “helping the people lagging behind, and getting them ready for resurgence [*nahood*] and progress....their

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.,141.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.,144.

actions and behaviors, in essence, contradicted these claims.”¹⁷⁸ These actions included military occupation, political penetration, and economic exploitation.¹⁷⁹ In the context of British colonialism in Egypt, the textbook accentuated the British government’s encouragement of the use of foreign loans by the Egyptian state, then ruled by the Khedive Ismail (1863-79):

...[Ismail] extended his hand to financial banks in Europe...and rushed to [employ] loan-based policies with excessive interests. The extent of such reached greatest enormity in the history of loans of all ages. Europe encouraged Ismail to undertake this policy, because it recognized that the wealth of Egypt was exemplary. Also, Europe at the time was utilizing large-scale capitalism in industrial and trade projects in the new countries (*al-bilad al-bakr*). It thus dispatched out many contractors and money-men (*rijal al-mal*), who began to found companies and banks, and made profits out of the country’s circumstances and its possessions (*amual*)...As the European policies set up traps in dishonest ways, the progression of events led to the rise of the Urabi national movement against absolute rule and foreign intervention, which in the end unfortunately led to the British occupation of Egypt in 1882.¹⁸⁰

The passage above clearly highlights the immorality of the actions of Europe in taking advantage of the situation in Egypt. Even though resorting to foreign loans was the fault of the rulers of Egypt, it was Europe that advanced such policy for its own economic benefits.

Yet, the passage simultaneously reflects the historical narrative’s complex attitude towards European expansion. In short, even though the textbook fundamentally criticized European expansion, it posited Europe as simultaneously representing both an instigator of the Egyptian people’s national sentiments and a disseminator of nationalism originating from Europe. The precise text quoted above echoes the thought that Egyptian national movements and consciousness erupted much in response to the unjust actions by the European colonial actors.

¹⁷⁸ *Origins of the Modern World*, 201.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 202-205.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 221.

Resonant with the narrative of the Chinese textbook's description on the Chinese encounters with European imperialism, the Egyptian textbook juxtaposed the rise of Egyptian national sentiments with "foreign intervention." This concept appeared more prominently in the section titled "Nationalist Movements in the East." The textbook cited a few factors that led to the rise of nationalist movements, which included:

The spread of European civilization to the peoples of the East, who came to realize the true value and superiority (*ghlba*) of their civilization...and the development of national awareness between people, [which recognized] the superiority (*al-ghlba*) of their knowledge (*al-3lm*) in all aspects (*m6aahir*) of life – economically, socially and philosophically.¹⁸¹

Therefore, the spread of European influence into the "East" was an important factor that led people to appreciate the value the civilization of their own nation. The textbook thus portrayed the extension of Europe's power as ultimately having, in a sense, "awakened" the nation.

Simultaneously, the Egyptian textbook did not neglect to note the role of European nationalism in bringing about national sentiments in Egypt. Under the same section, the textbook identified another reason for the rise of nationalism in the East – "the spread of principles of the French Revolution, success of nationalist, constitutional movements in Europe during the nineteenth century, and the leakage of...European vigilance (*al-yuqid*) and the struggles of its people (to realize freedom and unified nationalism) into the countries in the East."¹⁸² It is noticeable that the historical narrative of the Egyptian textbook, like that of the South Korean textbook, stressed the one-way flow of nationalism from Europe to the rest of the world. Such narrative implied that even though national identities had existed since the distant past, Europe

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 248.

¹⁸² Ibid., 248.

essentially realized nationalism in the modern form – which was gradually dispersed to elsewhere. This was an attitude nonexistent in the Chinese history textbook, which instead extensively focused on peasant movements in both Europe and China as independent processes that eventually led to the consolidation of centralized governments. All in all, the Egyptian textbook employed a multiple layers of attitudes in explaining European colonialism and imperialism. It underscored its exploitive nature that contradicted what it claimed to do, while recognizing Europe's role in disseminating nationalism in its contemporary form and also stirring Egyptian nationalism by posing an external threat.

Nationalist Regimes' Struggle against Colonialism and Imperialism

We have thus far seen how the textbooks of the three nation-states portrayed imperialism and colonialism as having incited the desire for national liberation and independence. The narratives of the Chinese and Egyptian textbooks essentially illustrated that however unjust it may have been, European expansion “awakened” the dormant national sentiments by either posing a threat to the nation so as to necessitate national mobilization. The South Korean textbook, in contrast, regarded European imperialism as stimulating nationalism by spreading the nationalist and democratic ideals that had originated from Europe. At the same time, Japanese colonizers explicitly embodied the illegitimate offenders of the Korean nation.

While the textbooks presumed Europe as the main actor in world history and the self as the passive recipient that could appear on the world stage only through interaction with European imperialism, this by no means implied that the unified nation did not exist prior to encounters with European imperialism. As the first section of the chapter argued, the textbooks extensively

focused on stressing the longstanding history of the nation as a unified, autonomous entity from a period long before the European influence.

Long-standing but nascent national identities became movements for national liberation during the twentieth-century struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The regimes that came to power in South Korea, China and Egypt each sought to depict themselves as the essential actors who “saved” the nation at the face of imminent threats from outside. Thus, the three regimes came to represent both a continuation of the longstanding national past, and a radical break from the imperialism and colonialism of recent past that inhibited national development.

Based on the rhetoric of homogeneous *minjok*, the South Korean textbook explicitly expressed its antagonism towards both Japanese colonialism and the North Korean regime, as well as the communist Soviet Union. It identified reunification of the *minjok* and the fight for democracy against threats of communism as the mission of the South Korean regime, reflecting clearly the ideological divide during the Cold War and confirming the legitimacy of the recently established state. In this framing discourse, the new, independent state of South Korea founded in 1948, three years after the Japanese defeat in World War II came to embody the spirit of the Korean nation. According to the narrative, South Korean democracy directly opposed the disgraceful experiences of past colonialism and current illegitimate communism that the North Korean regime and the Soviet Union endorsed. Explaining about the election in 1948 undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations, the textbook narrated:

...Doctor Rhee Syngman was selected as the first president, and August 15th finally witnessed the establishment of the Republic of Korea. Our *minjok* now welcomed independence...it was a truly precious and noble independence. How much blood of the *minjok* has been shed for this [independence]...! It has been achieved through thirty six

years of struggle against the vicious Japanese forces, and resistance against the unmerciful communists after liberation. It was a glorious achievement... The Republic of Korea is the nation of our *minjok* that has been approved by the United Nations. Despite this fact, the communists of North Korea illegitimately established a puppet government, supported by the Soviet Union, and encouraged the division of the *minjok*.¹⁸³

The passage above tells that the narrative of the textbook utilized the idea of homogeneous *minjok* and anti-colonial, anti-communist rhetoric to ensure the legitimacy of the Republic of Korea led by the President Rhee. It was a regime founded as a result of the *minjok*'s "precious and noble independence." The textbook further accentuated that at the present, "our task" was now to realize as soon as possible the reunification of the *minjok* and democracy, against the threats of communism.¹⁸⁴ The narrative thus upheld the unity of the *minjok* as the goal of the whole nation of South Korea, which also served as the political objective of the state.



"The Establishment of the Republic of Korea." Hanging in the front is the South Korean national flag. *National History*, p. 195

Although the Chinese history textbook similarly presented a nationalist interpretation of history that could confirm the legitimacy of the ruling Party at the face of the nation's supposedly humiliating experience of imperialism, the particularities of political and social contexts of China decided the direction for such narrative. In other words, the Chinese Communist Party endorsed the realization of communism as its explicit name, contrary to the case of South Korea. Furthermore, in lines with the political agenda and social circumstances, the Chinese history textbook defined the Chinese nationhood in terms of peasant rebellions, proletariat, and ethnic minorities led by the Han ethnicity and united through peasant identity.

¹⁸³ *National History*, 195

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 195-198

Following this narrative, the Chinese Communist Party as a representative of the proletariat class came to embody an actor essential for unifying the peasant class as well as the ethnic minorities. The quote below that appeared as a conclusion to the section on Chinese feudal society well demonstrates the textbook's identification of peasant class as the essence of the Chinese nation, which needed an organizing force:

The size of peasant uprisings and peasant struggles in Chinese history has been great – one that has been rarely seen in the history of the world. In the Chinese feudal society, only could these kinds of peasants' class struggle, uprisings and wars (*zhanzheng*) serve as the driving force of historical progress...[But] because there existed no new productive forces or relations of production at the time, nor an advanced political party, peasant uprisings could not obtain the kind of proper leadership that all the contemporary proletariats and communist parties have. In this way, peasant revolutions at the time always faced failures, and were used by the landlords and the aristocrats during and after the revolutions...¹⁸⁵

Thus, the lack of “an advanced political party” led to the ultimate failures of peasant rebellions – despite the important roles they played for the progression of history. This narrative simultaneously accentuated the feudal elements within the Chinese society that could not be eradicated due to such failures.

Consequently, the textbook explicitly stated that the Chinese Communist Party had to play a critical role in order for China to completely escape from the feudal stage of development and to eliminate imperialism. As noted in the previous section, the textbook noted the transformation of China into semi-feudal, semi-colonial state due to European imperialism. The Party represented the proletariat class that could bring China out of such conditions:

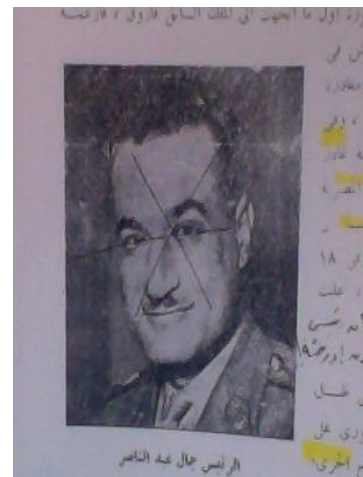
¹⁸⁵ *History*, 1st book, 113.

After the World War I...the power of the Chinese proletariat class rapidly expanded...[Such expansion] and the development of workers movements prepared the basis for the establishment of the Party of the proletariat class – the Chinese Communist Party...Following the way of Western capitalism cannot save China. The outbreak of the October Revolution granted the Chinese people Marxism and Leninism. Marxist-Leninist principles gradually combined with the Chinese workers movements, and produced the Chinese Communist Party. Only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party can the ethnic groups (*gezu renmin*) gain victory in the revolution against imperialism and feudalism, thereby walk the path of socialism and communism.¹⁸⁶

According to the textbook's narrative, the Chinese Communist Party epitomized the proletariat class itself, which could lead the peasants and also the ethnic minority groups. Only then could China escape from imperialism and feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party thereby became the rescuer of the Chinese nation at the face of an imminent threat.

In a similar way, the Egyptian textbook described the regime established following the July Revolution of 1952 as the rescuer of the Egyptian nation. The world history textbook of Egypt portrayed the Nasser regime as having taken a variety of measures to improve the situation of Egypt, and to end the remnants of British colonialism. After explaining the “chaotic” situation of Egypt prior to the year 1952, and the corruption and weaknesses of the previous monarchy, the textbook stated under the subchapter titled “The Military Movement”:

...But the God is merciful. The military movement occurred at the hands of a group of young Free Officers on the 23rd of July 1952, in order to save the country (*balad*) from the abyss...and to rescue her from corruption, exploitation and colonialism. And Egypt accepted remaining under the



Picture of Nasser in the world history textbook. This is an example of depicting Nasser a national hero. *Origins of the Modern World*, 254.

¹⁸⁶ *History*, 2nd book, 144.

republican rule [that undertook] audacious and comprehensive reforms, which had been unprecedented in the history of Egypt. And [these measures] of national vigilance (*al-yqda al-qawmiya*) included bettering agricultural methods, determining agricultural ownership by law, spreading new industries, expanding education...to raise the living standard of the people...[in order to] create ways to build a strong country (*dawla*).¹⁸⁷

As the passage clearly demonstrates, the narrative of the textbook accentuated the legitimacy of the July Revolution and the appropriate actions of “national vigilance” that the newly established regime initiated. The Egyptian nation also had to be “rescued” from “corruption, exploitation and colonialism,” led by the contemporary national government of Egypt.

In this context, the agreement between the Great Britain and Egypt in 1953 to evacuate the British forces from the Suez Canal represented a breaking point for Egyptian national independence. The textbook described that the revolutionary regime, led by the President Nasser, set on realizing the evacuation of the Suez Canal “without associating the country (*balad*) with obligations subject to Egypt by the British wants.”¹⁸⁸ This could be done through negotiations, fighting, or utilizing both methods. Thus the “men of the revolution prepared the people for armed struggle,” which led to the founding of the military camps such as the National Guards, youth organizations, and Liberation Brigade. Significantly, the textbook thereby praised the military nature of the Egyptian regime; the aforementioned military organizations “heightened efforts to spread the military spirit in the country...in order to be ready to set on fighting when the time comes.”¹⁸⁹ The textbook further elaborated that as the British sensed the “new spirit of resurrection (*?al-baath*),” it consented on the agreement of 1953. Highlighting the importance of this event, the textbook explained:

¹⁸⁷ *Origins of the Modern World*, 255.

¹⁸⁸ *Origins of the Modern World*, 255.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 255.

The agreement, for the first time in the history of relations between Egypt and the Britain, achieved two essential things: evacuation of the British forces from the land of Egypt in a true and complete sense, and the decomposition of the perpetual alliance with the Britain...and by this, the strongest shackles that had restrained Egypt for seventy two years were shattered. And Egypt still faces obstacles in its way to realize its aspirations for power, glory and dignity...¹⁹⁰



Signing of the Agreement to end the occupation of the Suez Canal. This represented a glorious achievement of the new military regime. *Origins of the Modern World*, 255.

Therefore, the narrative of the textbook posited the Nasser regime and its military characteristics as the critical elements for achieving complete Egyptian independence from the British colonialism and also the nation's "power, glory and dignity."

All in all, the three nation-states of South Korea, China and Egypt came to represent the victors against colonialism. They simultaneously embodied the actors that inherited the national past, which could further realize the nation's aspirations. The completion of the nationhood, thus, was posited as a future project. Moreover, for South Korea and China that opposed in a very explicit form one of the two geopolitical camps of capitalism and communism, the textbooks reflected such political antagonism. The South Korean regime utilized a clearly anti-communist rhetoric to posit itself as the sole legitimate government, as distinguished from the North Korean communist regime. The South Korean textbook clearly reflected this rhetoric. On the contrary, as the Chinese Communist Party endorsed communism, the textbook produced under its guidance glorified the Soviet Union and demonized countries based on capitalism. While the Egyptian

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 256.

textbook did not identify a clear enemy or a cooperator amongst the contemporary nation-states, it shared the general characteristic of confirming the legitimacy of the recently established Egyptian nation-state by stressing the nation's unfortunate colonial experience. Significantly, consolidating the nation-state as the successor of the longstanding national past and the necessary leader for the nation's future *required* formulating historical narratives on the "outsiders," especially the colonizers and imperial forces.

Conclusion

This thesis as a whole has dealt with the complex intersections between the world and the nation in the nation-building processes of emerging countries at the start of the Cold War. I have thus endeavored to historicize the nation-building processes in three different nation-states that had just achieved independence after colonial experiences, and subsequently encountered the world divided into different geopolitical and ideological camps. With the establishment of new regimes after radical political upheavals, the politicians and intellectuals of Egypt, China and South Korea had to construct or reinterpret the national past and world history in order to create a particular type of national identity. They had to formulate or selectively accentuate certain aspects of the nation and the world, for the purpose of strengthening a sense of national pride and inspiring unity, and patriotism and loyalty towards the contemporary ruling regimes as a means to legitimatizing their authority. Disseminating a certain version of the national past and the world through historical narratives in the public education system was clearly an essential part of the nation-building efforts.

The geopolitical and ideological divisions created during the Cold War played a critical role in the process of constructing national identity. The nation-states had to actively choose how they would align themselves in the emerging geopolitical landscape, as they confronted intense struggles between superpowers as well as regional conflicts that required specific forms of solidarity. The specific system of thought that the nation-state adhered to also shaped the direction for writing history. As Chapter One has revealed, the nation-states endorsed different transnational concepts of communism, Arab nationalism or socialism, and democratic capitalism that could theoretically be applied on a universal basis. Politicians and intellectuals adapted the globally circulating ideas into forms appropriate to the national context. Even as President Nasser of Egypt ardently advocated for Arab nationalism and unity, he carefully posited Egypt as

the historical center of such cooperative brotherhood. Similarly, while China and South Korea each were significantly influenced by the Soviet Union and the United States respectively, and adopted communism and democratic capitalism accordingly, each strived to develop a distinctively national version of the transnational ideologies. We thus observe efforts to Sinicize Marxism, and proposals for a South Korean style of democracy with an accentuation on unique traditions. These nationalist political orientations shaped the curricula of the expanding public education systems, as well as the specific content of history textbooks. Therefore, the narratives of the history textbooks were a reflection and culmination of these global, national, and political streams of influence.

Even as the textbooks' narratives reflected the distinctive ideological orientation that each nation-state endorsed, they also became a mechanism to challenge and recalibrate preceding philosophies and socio-political practices. As Chinese historians adopted Soviet model of historiography based on Marxist-Leninism, the Chinese textbook explained both world and national history in Marxist terms. It viewed historical progression as following slavery – feudal – capitalist – socialist, communist stages of development. Chinese history was thus reframed in a narrative focused on reinterpretation based on this model. Surprisingly, the textbook explicitly attacked the Confucian thought that had governed Chinese dynasties for centuries, as being favorable only to the ruling elites. The South Korean textbook offers a counter-example of this kind of revision and recalibration. In this case, communism was vilified as the enemy of the Korean *minjok* as a whole, while democracy and nationalism were described as the essential principles that South Korea first had to realize. In the process, the narrative explained, the spirituality and traditions passed down from the Korean ancestors are invaluable and must be preserved. Finally, the Egyptian textbook displayed a historical narrative distinct from the other

two cases. Consistent with the political rhetoric of Arab nationalism based on Islamic identity, it explained the history of Egypt from the perspective of progression of the Islamic dynasties, at least from the seventh century to the nineteenth century. The historical narratives of the two Egyptian textbooks always portrayed Egypt as an independent state that had remained unified prior to the dawn of Islam. These narratives of the textbooks represent trends in historiography of the three nation-states, which resonated with the national ideologies that they propagated.

Despite different ideologies that the nation-states adopted, there were structural similarities across the case studies. Even though formulations of identities as Chinese, Egyptian, or South Korean (or Korean) national subjects may seem uniquely distinct from one another, my analysis demonstrated that the framing the past and the definition of national essence in each textbook in fact shared underlying commonalities. These narratives stressed the dominance or homogeneity of a specific ethnicity as a characterizing feature of the nation since the distant past, as well as the source of national pride emanating from distinctive national features. The South Korean textbook underscored the continuous racial lineage of the Koreans from the time of the mythical figure of Tangun, while the Chinese textbook positioned the Han ethnic group as the leader of all others. For the Egyptian textbook, Arabs (which indicated racial, linguistic and religious markers of identity) represented the whole of Egypt. Simultaneously, the textbooks stressed the exceptional linguistic and cultural traditions that could elicit the pride of the nation. The South Korean textbook accentuated the significance of *Hangeul* as a unique language system independent from Chinese characters. Furthermore, it highlighted the scientific advances in Korean dynasties as predating those of the West, while praising in general terms the necessity of maintaining traditions exclusive to Korea. Similarly, the Chinese textbook underscored the Chinese language as one of the oldest languages in the world. Moreover, despite its criticism of

Confucius and its attempt to diminish the influence of his philosophy, the narrative nevertheless emphasized the value of unique Chinese arts, sciences and traditions. Likewise, the Egyptian textbook glorified the Arabic language as being superior to all the previous ones that Egyptians had used. The gradual infusion of Islamic culture and traditions into Egypt signaled a crucial breakthrough that transformed Egypt and enabled its rise. All in all, the historical frameworks of the case studies emphasized the dominant ethnic character of the nation, as well as its venerated language and traditions. The different local contexts decided the details.

Additionally, I argued that the details deployed in the textbooks to demonstrate the historical essence of the nation carried heavy political overtones. The South Korean textbook's stress on racial homogeneity and traditions of the Korean *minjok* echoed the Rhee Syng-man regime's *Ilmin Chui*, further supporting the Rhee administration's mission of unifying the divided Koreans against the threat of communism. The Chinese textbook, on the other hand, constructed a narrative that could incorporate the ethnic minorities into the Chinese identity. It accentuated the Han ethnicity's role in bestowing to other ethnicities (including those in disputed areas of Xinjiang and Taiwan) necessary industrial skills and knowledge, thereby highlighting both the intimacy between different ethnicities and the unity between them through peasant identity beneath the benevolent leadership of the Han majority. Moreover, as the textbook heavily stressed class struggle and peasant rebellions as promoters of radical historical transformations, the Chinese Communist Party came to represent the proletariat and peasant classes, as well as various ethnicities, and thus positioned itself as the natural coalescence of China's diversity that could complete the final stage of historical transition into communism. The Egyptian textbook's narrative on the gradual Arabization of the Egyptians similarly echoed with the Nasser regime's official stance on the nature of the Egyptian nation. While Nasser spoke

powerfully on the unity of the Arab nation, such cooperative relations was to be centered on Egypt. The textbook was similarly careful to position Egypt as a distinctive entity within the Islamic world that served a crucial geographic and strategic role for preservation and expansion of the Islamic dynasties. This is not to say that such emphasis had been completely fictional without an existent linguistic, cultural or racial basis. Rather, the historical narratives interpreted and reconfigured the past so as to create certain images of the nation. The specific ways in which the textbooks characterized the essence of the nationhood, itself accountable only in valorizing discourse of a distant, essential past, depended largely on each nation-state's political stances.

At the same time, national perspectives were embedded in interpretations of the world. In other words, the textbooks simultaneously had to narrate their own internal history and the history of the world surrounding the nation-state. In doing so, all of the textbooks' historical narratives on the world displayed common Eurocentric perspectives with a teleological view of history. European history served as the model from which to derive explanations about the progression of world history, and also a standard to compare the nation's own history with. Not only did the textbooks devote significantly more pages to Europe as compared to other parts of the world, but also adopted tripartite chronological division of world and national history according to European standards. In terms of content, the textbooks situated Europe as the center of world history. The Chinese textbook always posited European history as the point of departure in understanding the progression of history according to a Marxist-Leninist outlook on class struggle, and also China's own national history. Likewise, the South Korean and Egyptian textbooks defined the beginning of modern world history with the European Renaissance, and focused on democracy, nationalism, and sciences in Europe as the fundamental principles for understanding the world and the organization of their nations.

Besides the essential similarities, I highlighted the specific differences in historical narratives that depended on local national contexts. Political stances of the nation-states largely determined these differences. In terms of interpretations of Eurocentric world history, the nation-state's particular political and ideological orientations produced dissimilarities in what specific aspects of Europe the textbooks concentrated on, their descriptions of the rise of Europe, and general attitudes towards modern European history. As I discussed in Chapter Two, the Chinese textbook explained European history from a Marxist-Leninist point of view, with an explicit focus on the peasant class and class struggle. For every change in European history, such as growth of capitalism and establishment of centralized nation-states, the Chinese textbook identified peasant rebellions as the driving force. On the contrary, South Korean and Egyptian textbooks emphasized the sciences, philosophies, culture and political revolutions of Europe that led to its expansion. The Egyptian textbook was distinguished from the other two in that it heavily emphasized the role of Islamic, Arab traditions in preserving the classical knowledge and sciences, ultimately allowing the European Renaissance to occur. This resonates with the political stance of Egypt that promulgated Arab Islamic identity as the defining feature of the Egyptian nation. The South Korean textbook, on the other hand, praised the European sciences and philosophy as the height of human reason, while also emphasizing the important achievements of democracy and nationalism in Europe. Hence, the specific national political contexts dictated the multiple ways in which the textbooks interpreted European history.

The textbooks' narratives on national history and world history, which perceived the two as existing in separate spheres, came together as they described European imperialism the nation-states' colonial experiences. Indeed, the textbooks' descriptions of European imperialism were mixed. The Chinese textbook depicted it as an utterly exploitive force that ultimately awakened

the people's desire to struggle against foreign aggression. The South Korean textbook, on the contrary, rather focused on European imperialism's enlightening aspect of spreading ideals such as democracy, freedom of thought and nationalism. At the same time, the South Korean textbook vehemently criticized the unjustness and brutality of the Japanese colonizers that stirred movements and sentiments for national independence. The Egyptian textbook displayed both attitudes; it described European imperialism's role in disseminating the fundamental ideals of nationalism and democracy, as well as the economic and military oppression it posed on the colonized.

Yet, the three cases shared a similar logic in portraying colonialism and as a catalyst in arousing national identity that had lain dormant. The recently established regimes, accordingly, were depicted as the pivotal actors who overthrew the colonizers and were now set on the road to realize the nation's aspirations. Despite the differences in attitudes, the textbooks' narratives agreed that foreign imperialism and colonialism presented an imminent threat to the existent nation, thereby stimulating widespread national independence movements. The contemporary regimes were thus positioned as the signification of a long-overdue "awakening" of the national identity. The nation-building processes of the three nation-states situated in different geopolitical and ideological contexts, therefore, shared tangible commonalities in conceptualizing national identity and outlooks on the world.

Thus far, by situating the three nation-states' textbooks in geopolitical contexts of the Cold War and closely analyzing their narratives, I have attempted to contribute both to the Cold War scholarship and the field of historiography from a global perspective. The division of the world into different geopolitical, ideological camps, as well as the ideas and concepts that circulated across the globe, proved to be pivotal to constructing national memory through history

education. Egypt, China and South Korea adopted stances supporting Arab Islamic identity, communism and democratic capitalism respectively, with the aim of adapting each ideology to the national context. These orientations shaped the general direction of history writing, and the narratives of the history textbooks. The narratives thus produced shared conceptual similarities, in terms of interpreting the world and defining national identity. Within the textbooks' frameworks, Europe was positioned as the center for world history, providing the stage for the rest of the world to act on. With regards to national identity, the textbooks shared the similarity of stressing the longstanding, proud national past that the dominant or homogeneous ethnicity has organically inherited in its leadership role. In this context, the textbooks interpreted colonialism and imperialism as inspiring the already existing, albeit latent, national identity. Simultaneously, the specific local contexts of the nation-states produced the multiple differences in detail in interpreting European history and the essence of the nation. The nation-states' political positions in particular played a crucial role in determining these differences.

Certainly, a wealth of similarities and differences, and entanglements and disjuncture characterized the three cases' nation-building processes through historical narratives. This is not surprising, considering the consolidation of nationalism as a universal system of thought after decolonization at the start of the Cold War. Amidst the ideological divisions, nation-states had to fulfill the common task of building the nation by reconfiguring globally circulating ideologies. This produced similar yet heterogeneous interpretations of national and global history. In this context, my thesis suggests several other areas of study that could be further researched. While I have focused on comparing textbooks of three case studied at single point in time, a diachronic research that examines textbooks' narratives within a span of time (i.e. during the colonial period and after decolonization) would highlight continuities and ruptures in historical perceptions of

the nation and the world. Another subject that requires further research from a more diverse perspective is that of the portrayals of colonial experience. In examining the textbooks' narratives on colonialism, I have mainly focused on their role in defining nationhood and consolidating the legitimacy of the contemporary political regimes. Although I have explained the general representations of the colonial experience as the "other" force that instigated national identity, I have not investigated the specific, limiting ways in which the colonial past was narrated. An aspect that deserves more research is the binary opposition between the colonizer and the colonized, which provides the framework for the textbooks' descriptions of colonial experiences. Finally, an in-depth comparative study that investigates the historical portrayal of dominant ethnicity as the characterizing feature of national identity would contribute to understanding the conceptual mechanisms of nation-building, as well as the consequences of such description.

The issues I have discussed in the thesis continue to have significance in the present. Despite the changes in global circumstances during the past several decades, the limited perspectives that characterized the textbooks' narratives persist to this day not only in the textbooks, but also in academic practices of history writing in general. Meanings of national identity continue to evolve. Especially with increased interconnections between nation-states and large-scale migration of peoples across borders, defining national identity culturally, racially, and politically becomes a complex issue that requires fluidity. Similarly, a Eurocentric view of world history presents a narrow view of history of the world, marginalizing multiple forms of history in parts of the world other than Europe. Yet, historical narratives have tended to maintain these orientations, especially those of history textbooks that carry special political significance. This has been so despite the provincialization of Europe after the World War II and changing

meanings of national identity. In this regard, this thesis has endeavored to untangle the rigid Eurocentric, national frameworks for history at a moment when the nation-states launched their nation-building projects.

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